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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

DEPUTY MINISTER CALLS FOR INCREASED HYGIENE, SAFETY IN WORKPLACE

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 1, 1983 pp 14-20

[Article by Academician Atanas Maleev, member of BCP Central Committee, first deputy minister of public health and chairman of the Medical Academy: "Labor and Human Health"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] "One of the basic rights of the socialist toiler is his right to work under /safe and hygienic conditions/. Dependent on this in maximum measure are his health and fitness for work, his self-esteem and human dignity."--T. Zhivkov in "Basic Principles of the Party Conception of the New Labor Code"

Never heretofore has the party's policy on labor questions been formulated and examined on such a scale and over such range as we see in the document under discussion--in all its many facets and in its sharp focus on man, his overall needs and his responsibilities.

In every individual proposition and in the overall focus of the party conception of a new Labor Code we see again the vast political wisdom of the Political Bureau. We see another new major contribution of our party's General Secretary, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to the enrichment of the theory and practice of socialist construction. We see his exceptional political insight and his ability to comprehend the realities in depth, to outline the directions to be taken and determine the ways of solving labor problems efficiently with a view to the present and future interests both of the individual, of the labor collective, and of the whole of society.

The published conception reflects all the creative spirit and far-sightedness of the party's April policy, its authentic humanism, scientific daring, ceaseless development and speedy response to problems of practical application. It is constructed on the basis of a qualitatively new approach and new strategy which match the advanced stage of maturity of our socialist society, at which labor problems become more complex but at the same time the possibilities of solving them increase many-fold too. It presents ingenious visions of labor both as natural vital necessity and as a source of social wealth, as well as a factor in a person's individual and social realization.

The tremendous importance of labor for the building of a mature socialist society can also be seen from the fact that it is not just considered as a source of material wealth. Under the conditions in our society, labor in principle is also the repository of our greatest social wealth--health. There is no physical or mental health without sensible constructive labor linked with positive emotions, nor is there peak fitness for labor without physical and mental health. Quite justifiably questions of labor hygiene have been given extensive space in the conception under discussion.

By their activity thus far our health services have made many achievements in labor hygiene. The institutes of the Medical Academy have done considerable scientific research work on problems in labor hygiene and safety procedures, on the control of occupational diseases and the temporary-disability sick rate, and on the development of prophylactic programs for major industrial facilities and construction projects. The necessary hygienic standards have been created for the work environment. All workers exposed to conditions of elevated health risk have been put under clinical observation.

But, as is emphasized in the "Basic Principles," we are far from solving all the problems in bringing about optimum physical conditions of labor. In a number of places situations exist that are intolerable for our socialist society.

In this connection, let us dwell briefly on certain questions of health care for the working man which are directly related to the "Basic Principles of the Conception of the New Labor Code."

/The first question/ has to do with the condition of the work environment and resultant problems. In this connection I shall venture to cite some research findings of the Medical Academy and the hygienic and epidemiological inspectorates regarding the condition of the work environment in individual sectors of our industry.

Let us take the factor of dust. Our research shows that in the extraction of metallic and nonmetallic minerals, in coal extraction and in the production of electric power, in the metallurgical industry and in a number of enterprises and workshops of the textile, machine-building and chemical industry etc. the dust content of the work environment still presents a serious problem, in some instances exceeding the hygienic standards of maximally permissible concentrations.

Serious hygienic problems arise also in respect of other important parameters of the work environment such as noise, aerosols of toxic substances, vibrations, production microclimate etc., which are indicative of unsolved hygienic problems in a number of industrial sectors.

As a result of all this we continue in recent years to be plagued by certain occupational diseases, as for example: /pneumoconioses/ in the construction industry, the extraction of coal, metallic and nonmetallic minerals etc.; /vibration sickness/ in the same sectors and in the metallurgical industry; /hearing impairments/ in the textile, metallurgical and machine-building

industries; /diseases of the locomotory system/ in the construction and machine-building industries, in coal extraction and electric power production etc.; /poisonings/ in the chemical, metallurgical and machine-building industries etc. Besides this, I should like to point out that in contrast to the general trend established in the past 10 years towards an improvement in the temporary-disability index, the index of the rate of days lost due to illness in a number of sectors is higher than the average for the country. The fact that during the same period accidents rank high under the index of the rate of days lost (per 100 workers) also merits serious attention.

There are also a number of unsolved problems in the labor of agricultural workers. Here we can cite examples of the existence of risk factors involving the concentrations of aerosols of various toxic substances used as plant protectants, dust aerosols during soil tillage and crop harvesting, vibrations generated by some tractors and power-operated machinery, as well as various other substances which have an allergic effect etc. It is no accident that the agricultural sector now ranks fifth in the country in the total number of recorded occupational diseases.

It is also worth noting that the question of unsolved dust- and gas-trapping problems in enterprises is a much broader question since the noxious substances severely pollute the environment, affecting the health of the public.

As is known, our state appropriates huge sums for the National Labor Safety and Hygiene Program. It is reasonable in return for this to expect a correspondingly high effect from the sums invested. This is not borne out, however, because, as stated in the "Basic Principles," most of the funds provided for the purpose are used for partial improvements and indemnifications instead of being invested for prevention of the causes that give rise to adverse labor conditions.

Besides all this, whenever we speak of assuring favorable labor conditions, the question can also justifiably be asked: Why in spite of the categorical character of the Public Health Law does the Ministry of Architecture and Public Works issue regulations which in practice enable industrial projects to be built without the competent participation of State Medical Control agencies from the early planning phase?

Consequently, what is clearly needed is a new approach, a new strategy for solving such a major social health problem as decisive improvement of the labor conditions of the working class. Principles must be incorporated in the new Labor Code that will change prophylaxis from a "firefighting" activity and put it into the position of a really effective preventive activity. The "Conception" gives the necessary formulation of this: "Safety and hygienic conditions of labor must be assured throughout the chain of the construction and functioning of production and nonproduction projects." And this means:

/First/, assuring the closest cooperation and unity of action of economic and trade-union bodies and organizations with the hygiene and health-care service in a systematic study of labor conditions.

/Second/, decisively improving the stringency and uncompromising character of State Medical Control, but at the same time the departments, economic and public organizations must intensify their stringency and the responsibility of their agencies to strictly observe hygienic standards and requirements and labor safety regulations.

/Third/, in the programming and conduct of health-improvement and prophylactic measures, most effectively integrating the resources of the departments and economic enterprises with the forces of the health services so as to achieve the maximum possible volume and fastest pace in the priority solution of problems in turn according to their urgency.

/Fourth/, accelerated developing of the network of preventoria, establishments for rest and relaxation etc., expanding the building of workers' health-care institutions and equipping them with modern technical equipment by the economic organizations.

In all the activity to improve labor conditions there must be a decisive increase in the role of trade-union organizations and labor collectives, which, by means of counterplans and with the instructions of the competent health-care agencies, will make more purposeful use to greater social-health effect of the resources from the Social Welfare Measures Fund and under the National Labor Safety and Hygiene Program.

/The second question/ on which I want to dwell is the question of the hygienic position towards labor as a basic human right and obligation.

In our country labor is increasingly winning recognition as the main content and meaning of the socialist toiler's life, as a subconscious means for a person's multifaceted harmonious development and social realization, as a source of his satisfaction with life and of his personal happiness.

As is known, as a result of the major changes that have taken place in consequence of socioeconomic development and the scientific and technical revolution, the character of labor has radically changed too. New production processes and activities have sprung up; wide-scale mechanization and automation have significantly decreased heavy physical and manual labor and increased psychosensory labor; the steady intellectualization of labor continues. This inevitably leads to changes in occupational pathology as well.

In the light of all this there has been a rise in the role of labor physiology which is supposed to study systematically the influence of occupational activity on a person's health and to devise the necessary physiological standards and scientifically validated regimes of work and rest for various categories of labor according to occupations, sex and age.

To begin with, in the new Labor Code labor protection regulations for women, and especially pregnant women, must be expanded and enlarged. In this connection, the list of occupations and activities barred to women must be systematically updated and supplemented; suitable employment must always be provided for pregnant women; the measures provided in the present code for the

protection of pregnancy (the barring of overtime, night and heavy labor and of detached service away from the workplace etc.) should apply throughout the entire period of pregnancy, and not just after the fourth month (as under the present regulation); thought must be given to additional measures for still fuller protection of pregnancy, for stimulation of the birth rate and for lightening a woman's maternal functions. Special regulations from the standpoint of hygienic requirements are necessary also for the labor of minors, persons of reduced working capacity, the blind and the deaf, as well as employed pensioners. For all these the amount, duration and type of labor must be determined taking into account the state of their health, their age and the working conditions. Special attention must be given to the establishment of hygienic standards for the labor of persons employed at more than one job or performing another type of additional labor. The principle here must be to utilize the additional labor of those who are willing and able since society needs it and benefits from it, but only provided that it does not adversely affect the health of the workers.

An important problem stemming from the document under discussion is that of safeguarding the labor of schoolchildren and students. According to the studies of medical agencies, motor activity among our schoolchildren is reduced, while in the secondary grades and at higher levels eye abnormalities, juvenile hypertonia, spinal deformities and neuroses are encountered. The school work of six-year-old first-graders needs special protection. Significant problems result from the instruction process taking place directly in production enterprises, construction and agriculture, and from brigade labor. Also unsolved is the question of vocational guidance for young people, which is a matter of important hygienic significance. Perhaps the new Labor Code should incorporate provisions for improving the hygienic protection of this specific work for the younger generation, too.

The dynamics of modern life, the intensification of production processes, the advancing intellectualization of labor and the rapidly changing factors of the bioenvironment put to the test the adaptive capabilities of the human organism and often stress situations arise resulting in overstraining of the nervous system and neuropsychic illnesses. As a result, the problem of mental health protection comes to the fore. Its solution must be taken into account in formulating the specific provisions of the new Labor Code. In this regard a contribution can be made by a complex of measures such as proper organization of daily, weekly and yearly rest and recreation, improvement of the mental climate in the collectives, the introduction of industrial esthetics and other factors in the work environment that create positive emotions etc. Directly related to the protection of mental health and all-round harmonious development of the personality is the necessity of regulating the labor in series and assembly-line production, which is characterized by monotony. Many advanced countries regulate the length of work operations and the number of elements in the work cycle simultaneously with so-called "enrichment" of the work process. It is time this question should find appropriate formulation in our Labor Code so that it can be solved.

Exceptionally important from the standpoint of labor physiology is the introduction on a broad scale of labor ergonomics and industrial esthetics, all the

more so since expert evaluation of the machinery and equipment produced in our country shows that with very few exceptions they do not meet ergonomic requirements. Solution of this question is of great significance not only for the protection of workers' health, but also for the elevation of labor productivity. And with very good reason the question has found a place in the "Party Conception."

Speaking of labor physiology, we cannot help emphasizing the tremendous role of organized recreation and rest for workers. Rest must be specified and scheduled in conformity with a worker's health needs both by type and by place as well as by season. Only then will it help protect his health or restore certain impaired functions of the organism. Especially important in this regard is not only the accelerated development of preventoria, but also their year-round utilization. To these only needy workers must be sent by physicians' order, with provision of the necessary regimen, diet and comfort. An end must be put to the practice still encountered here and there of using preventoria not for their intended purpose, but for conducting courses, conferences etc.

The whole complex of measures necessary for the physiological optimization of labor sets serious tasks for the public health services in formulating relevant scientifically validated physiological standards, but introducing them into practice requires integrated and constant efforts on the part of economic and trade-union bodies and organizations.

/The third question/ which I cannot help but touch upon has to do with the labor of health-care workers. We all agree as to its exceptional humane character and important social role, but its nature is hardly well known.

The medical worker's labor is first and foremost highly intellectual labor, requiring constant training and specialization and extremely high responsibility. It entails great neuroemotional strain and, in some categories of specialists, considerable physical strain. When one takes into account the inevitable lack of system in his working time (night and holiday duty, house calls often without transportation), it becomes clear why health-care workers rank second among all trade unions in respect of the severity of the sick rate with temporary incapacity. Only miners are ahead of them.

For all that, I cannot help pointing out that the labor of medical workers and especially of physicians still is not lightened by the necessary modern equipment and that certain domestic problems such as the provision of housing, vacation cards etc. are still not solved to a sufficient extent for health-care workers. At the same time, it must be said that working at more than one job is widely practiced among medical workers and this has an adverse effect on the quality of their work, their health, as well as the possibility of systematic further training. Nor is sufficient use made of the labor of retired medical workers, many of whom are highly qualified, well experienced, and retain their fitness to work.

I believe that on the basis of the provisions of the new Labor Code the Ministry of Public Health can and must take the measures necessary to improve the

organization and social productivity of medical labor and to protect their health.

"The Basic Principles of the Party Conception of the New Labor Code," published for discussion, outline in depth and with scope and clarity the whole complex of problems that must be regulated by the new Labor Code in order to meet fully the high requirements of the mature socialist society that is abuilding. Against the background of these problems we see clearly and are aware of the inordinately mounting claims for health services. The Ministry of Public Health and the Medical Academy understand their duty very well, have the forces and will do everything possible to make their maximum contribution to providing our working class with the complete and efficient labor protection that it deserves.

In this connection, the basic efforts of the health services and medical science will focus on the full, timely and high-grade formulation of the necessary, scientifically validated hygienic standards for labor and the work environment; on active and competent participation in health-improvement programs and measures that have been devised by the respective departments, economic and public agencies and organizations; on a sharp rise in the stringency and refusal to compromise of State Medical Control. At the same time, we will accelerate the process of strengthening the front line of workers' health services, of bringing medical care still closer to the working people, of expanding clinical observation and the early detection and elimination of health-risk factors that show up.

To solve all these problems we shall seek even more active cooperation and unity of action with trade unions, departments and economic organizations, counting on their specific help, especially in building the material base and the equipment-to-worker ratio of workers' health-care institutions, in expanding the network of preventoria etc.

"The Basic Principles of the Party Conception" of this new "Labor Constitution" carry a tremendous ideological, political and practical charge. The approach which is suggested ("The Basic Principles" are published for nationwide discussion) is also in complete conformity with the innovative content and thrusts of this document. The theses that have been developed for the further expansion of socialist democracy throughout the entire system of labor relations unquestionably represent a new and great stride forward in improving the political system of our society and state. Nationwide discussion of the document will involve wide circles of workers in the job of regulating labor problems, and these problems will become generally known to worker and student youth. And all this will be of tremendous educational and political importance and will be another powerful stimulus for labor, political and social activity.

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ROLE OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY DESCRIBED

Nationalities Problem Discussed

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 4, 27 Jan 83 p 6, 7

[Article by Zoltan Sido: "Tasks and Objectives of CSEMADOK Following the 13th Plenum"]

[Text] The problem of developing the culture of nationalities in our country is an integral part of the cultural policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state. Fraternal coexistence of nations and nationalities in the CSSR promotes all-round, consequently also cultural, development for workers of Hungarian nationality in their mother tongue. Slovak and Czech Culture enhances the culture of nationalities and the culture of nationalities enhances the culture of the CSSR in the sense of the dialectical relation between a part and the whole--the international entity grows with the growth of its national components and vice versa.

The objective of this article--as indicated by its title--cannot be an assessment of the components of a nationality's culture, therefore problems relating to publication of literature, newspapers and periodicals in Hungarian and, further, problem relevant to theater, Radio broadcasting, television, etc., will not constitute its subject. However, a complete disregard of the mentioned cultural phenomena would lead to a one-sided view of the development of the culture of nationalities as well as the tasks and objectives of CSEMADOK [Cultural Association of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia] following the 13th Plenum. In this respect, literature has key importance. Translations of the works of Slovak and Czech writers and poets into Hungarian and those of Hungarian literati in the CSSR into Slovak and Czech represent a specific proof of mutual accord and cultural enrichment. Since its establishment in 1969 the MADACH Publishing House in Bratislava has published 261 translations from Slovak and Czech literature which--with the overall number of 556 published titles--amounts to 46.9 percent. Slovak publishers publish annually 20-22 translations from Hungarian and have published up to now as many as 20 works of Hungarian authors in the CSSR in Slovak.

Development of the culture of nationalities in Slovakia comes under the aegis of cultural and educational institutions and facilities, whereby a specific position is held by cultural associations of nationalities (CSEMADOK and KZUP [Cultural Association of Ukrainian Workers]). Their specificity is given by the fact that they develop activities only on SSR territory inhabited by

the given nationality, are controlled by national committees and have a membership base. It must be realized that the specific position in the hierarchy of cultural provisions and facilities accrues not only to the cultural association of nationalities, but also to the objective of the association--the nationality's culture. Hungarian culture in the CSSR differs from other cultures of our country in language and tradition, but it has its origins in a common source as an organic part of social superstructure--Czechoslovak socialist culture.

CSEMADOK's origin dates back to 1949 as a result of the victory of the working class in our country. In keeping with the nationality policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state, which promote a policy of equality of nationalities, it sees its mission in cooperation with state organs and other organizations toward further development of cultural life and development of specific features of the culture of the Hungarian nationality in the CSSR, as well as education of the citizenry in the spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and fraternal sharing and reinforcing the unity of nations and nationalities of our country. Thus, its mission is to use various forms, means and methods of cultural and educational activities among the populace in support of the policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state and help in its implementation.

The mission of CSEMADOK at the time of its birth was adopted primarily by communists whose class-oriented view of the past and faith in a better future helped to forge a solid base for a new cultural life of nationalities after February. It was specifically communists who stood at the cradle of the incipient cultural organization of the Hungarian nationality in the CSSR, such as, e.g., Viktor Egri, Stefan Fabry, Rudolf Furinda, Jan Hriech, Samuel Hubsch, the chairman of CSEMADOK's Central Committee for many years Julius Lorincz, Jozef Poszpis, Oliver Racz and others.

The founding members were encouraged by the words of Stefan Major, who, in the name of the CPSL Central Committee, welcomed the constituting congress of CSEMADOK: "In this country, only those who work have the right to hope for a better future. Also the right to cultural values will accrue only to those who with their heart and soul will participate in building of a new socialist society. We are facing an enormous task, dear friends. It will not be easy to combat political and ideological temptations of the past that recur from time to time. But that is why we are here, old and new fighters for a new world epoch, to fight and to prevail." Comrade Major's words are topical and inspiring even today, both in regard to entrenching the party in a leading role in the association and in its cultural and education efforts.

The plenary meetings convened at 5-year intervals represent important milestones in the life of the association. The 13th Plenum of CSEMADOK assessed the activities of the association during the span of 1977-82 and stipulated its future tasks. The adopted resolution is based on the conclusion reached by the 16th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress as well as on CPCZ and CPSL Central Committee plena dealing with ideological problems and puts great emphasis on improving the level of activities in implementing the "Concept for Further Development of Cultures of Nationalities and Activities of Nationality-Cultural Associations in the SSR," with particular reference to the basic links of the association--local organizations of CSEMADOK.

Active at the present on SSR territory are 512 local organizations with 80,000 members, i.e., of the 555,000 citizens of Hungarian nationality in the 15 districts where the association is active, 14 percent participate in its activities. In addition to the numerical strength of its membership base, its activity is also borne out by the fact that in the past 5-year period local organizations sponsored more than 4,000 political and social actions, up to 6,000 educational and almost 2,000 literary actions as well as 4,700 presentations in the area of hobby and artistic pursuits. Implementation of the mentioned presentations was participated in by up to 250 glee clubs and singing groups, 150 theatrical and variety entertainment ensembles, 120 dancing and folkloristic groups composed of adults, as well as over 200 children's and youth ensembles engaged in hobby and artistic pursuits and a great number of lecturers in the area of education and enlightenment. While these are merely quantitative indicators, numerical strength can also be the prerequisite of quality under certain conditions in the sense of the dialectics of their mutual relation.

Nevertheless, to objectively assess the quality of ensembles it must be added that in comparison with the best Slovak amateur ensembles, the CSEMADOK groups, due to various objective as well as subjective causes, still show evidence of considerable hidden potential which, however, does not mean any negation for a transition from potential to reality.

A good level of performance is achieved by the Singing Choir of Hungarian Teachers in the CSSR which successfully represented our country also abroad, as is the case with the SZOTTES folkloristic dancing ensemble, the Ballroom Dancing Club of the local CSEMADOK organization in Nove Zamky, the Szep Szo miniature stage-form theater of Kosice and others. The performance of top ensembles and the association's ensembles must be viewed on the context of their material and personnel resources, as well as social and moral assessment, as only a dialectical view of their existence will enable us to evaluate the causal relationships between the quantity and quality of ensembles.

While the Cultural Institute in Bratislava systematically provides for the growth of qualified leading dancing and theatrical ensembles and CSEMADOK organs pursue maximum utilization of the thus-generated personnel resources, the material resources of most of the ensembles are limited to a base of self-sufficiency by the legal entity itself--the local CSEMADOK organization--which generates financial resources from the aliquot part of membership contributions and profit from paid presentations.

The central departmental cultural organ in Slovakia, the SSR Ministry of Culture, keeps the activities of CEMADOK's Central Committee on an adequate level, but national committees and their cultural facilities should in the future promote all-round development of the culture of nationalities. The basis should be formed by uniform plans for cultural and educational activities, providing space for activities of the cultural association free of charge (as long as it does not involve activities of a gainful nature), regular meetings of personnel of district and regional methodological centers with the secretary of CEMADOK's Central Committee, regular assessment of the level of nationality culture in councils of the local, district and regional national committees in the presence of the officials of the association, material aid to the

ensembles by enterprises in the sphere of their activities, particularly when these ensembles provide these enterprises cultural programs on a regular basis. Cooperation with enterprises and social organizations and, particularly, regular control and assessment of activities by national committees will warrant elimination of existing shortcomings and errors in the performance of the association's local organizations.

It stands to reason that only bilateral efforts to develop cooperation and a unified course of action can produce positive results. Such open relations and efforts toward integration in the area of culture in our villages and towns are characterized, among other things, by agreements regarding cooperation which have been or will be signed in the near future between the Central Committee of the Union of Slovak Youth, the Cultural Institute in Bratislava, the Central Committees of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, Union of Slovak Women, etc., and the Central Committee of CSEMADOK. Implementation of these agreements will, among other things, do away with the still persisting withdrawal here and there into a nationality shell and will meet the need for cooperation in the interest of continued improvement of not just the culture of nationalities, but culture in general.

As an expression of recognition and trust, the SSR Ministry of Culture authorized CEMADOK's Central Committee to stage all central presentations in the area of hobby and artistic activities in the sphere of Hungarian culture, such as are the Jokai's days in Komarno (contest of theatrical ensembles, miniature stage forms and recitals), the Danube Spring (competition among children's theatrical ensembles, miniature stage forms, puppet theater ensembles and recitals), the Folkloristic Festival in Zeliezovce, Kodaly's days in Galanta (competition of adult singing choirs), Resounding Song (competition of children's and youth singing choirs), Winds of Spring Make Waters Surge... (competition of folkloristic ensembles and amateur interpreters of folk songs), Festival of Workers Choirs, Melody (contest for amateur interpreters of popular and dance songs), Cultural Festival of Hungarian Workers in the CSSR in Gombasek. This system of contests developed gradually so as to allow each field of interest and genre to follow the local and district rounds by the association's centralized round. From among the centralized presentations of the association, the outstanding in thematic contents and significance are Jokai's days and the Gombasek Festival.

In Komarno, the birthplace of the great Hungarian epic poet Mor Jokai, 1983 will mark the 20th meeting of the best recital artists and the most proficient amateur theatrical troupes and miniature stage form ensembles to measure their skills. Year after year, the contest of beautiful words and the enchanting Thalia also lures representatives of the Slovak amateur theater. Gombasek did not become the stage for the Cultural Festival of Hungarian Workers in the CSSR until 1961, as up to that time dancers, musicians and singers were welcomed to congregate in Lucenec, Zeliezovce, Nove Zamky and Kosuty. Gombasek, once a meeting place for leftist Hungarian youth in the bourgeois Czechoslovak republic, and the district of Roznava, the locale for frequent revolutionary manifestations of workers, will host the 28th festival at which annually appear up to 700 performers in front of 20,000-30,000 spectators. The significance of the festival is underlined also by the fact that it is regularly attended by party and government delegations as well.

CSEMADOK's Central Committee is gradually streamlining the structure and timing of performances and provides for participation by the best ensembles in the all-Slovak or nationwide undertakings, whereby it regularly provides for participation by leading Slovak and Ukrainian ensembles at its association-wide presentations. In this manner these cultural festivals and contests, in addition to providing a review of nationality cultures, are also a manifestation of fraternity and the ever closer ties between our nations and nationalities. Confrontation and rapprochement of cultures of nations and minorities, which does away with undesirable isolation and some isolated effects at trivialization of the described social phenomenon, is also favorably aided by regular broadcasts of Bratislava television from cultural festivals and undertakings of cultural minority associations, as well as articles and reports on the pages of newspapers and periodicals.

After its 13th Plenum, CSEMADOK will develop its utmost efforts toward implementation of the resolutions of the 16th Party Congress in the area of cultural rapprochement along the intent expressed by C Jozef Lenart, first secretary of CPSL Central Committee, in his address at the occasion of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "Development and rapprochement of our nations and nationalities, those are two sides of the same coin, mutually interdependent and with organic interaction. This is the party's interpretation of the dialectics of minority relations at the present stage. For that reason it is important that while developing the potential of our nations we simultaneously add depth to the process of internationalization of all aspects of our life. From this viewpoint we in Slovakia as well--party and state organs, government and the Slovak National Council--see and must see the new requirements, new criteria of the times which apply in common to a uniform Czechoslovak economy as well as to the social, state, political and cultural sphere."

Documentation from the 16th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress emphasizes the role of culture in providing for systematic improvement of the workers standard of living, ascribing our socialist culture an important position in carrying out its international mission. Therefore the attention of the association will be focused on further reinforcement of its social and educational role and further emphasis on claiming Czechoslovak citizenship, providing for and preserving the cultural values of nationalities and their sharing, whereby it will orientate itself toward their ideological and esthetic functions so as to make them into an instrument for shaping the profile of our citizens, an instrument for promoting socialist internationalism and socialist patriotism.

Nationalities Problem Further Described

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 4, 27 Jan 83 pp 6, 7

[Article by Stefan Bolebruch, PhD, CSc, department head in CPSL Central Committee: "The CPCZ and Development of Minorities' Culture"]

[Text] Policy relevant to nationalities in the CSSR forms a part of the policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state. Its basic feature is equality of our nations and nationalities in the spirit of Marx-Leninism which creates realistic conditions also for citizens of Hungarian nationality in the economic and social sphere, in participation in attending to the affairs of the state, as well as in the sphere of education and culture.

The principle of proletarian internationalism is fully manifested also in the development of our culture. The remarkable advances made by culture and arts in Slovakia bear witness to the unprecedented growth of the creative talents of the Slovak nation. It is the result of the development of a unified socialist society. Czech and Slovak culture created a common, internally multifaceted sum of cultural and artistic values. It does not involve merely rapprochement of two national cultures, but a uniformity of objectives and tasks which exercises a reverse effect on both cultures. This process is the result of the historical fact that Czechs and Slovaks share a common socialist country, a common Marxist ideology, personified in the deeds of the international policy of the CPCZ, sharing in common their socialist objectives. At the same time, Czech and Slovak culture and arts have their roots in their own developmental traditions expressing the existence and development of two equal socialist nations. They form a common context with the cultures of minority groups. They mutually enhance one another fruitfully, complementing and forming a uniform socialist culture of Czechoslovakia.

The highest party and state organs are systematically assessing the results attained in the area of policy relating to nationalities. The 14th, 15th, and 16th CPCZ congresses as well as CPSL congresses also devoted the requisite attention to the nationalities living in our country. The SSR Government in its session of 12 November 1980 dealt comprehensively with the results of CPCZ policy relating to nationalities. Significant results were achieved during the building of a developed socialist society in developing the life of citizens of Hungarian nationality as well. An approach was made particularly after 1970 to a more systematic distribution of manpower, development of industry and eradication of differences in social status and living conditions of the populace. Further improvements were made in the qualitative level and production capacity of agriculture. In keeping with the development of the production sphere came also development of sectors in the tertiary sphere. There is more intensive implementation of the principles of CPCZ policy relating to nationalities together with successful application of specific rights of nationalities in the area of education and culture, particularly in regard to using minority languages in official contacts.

All-round advances were achieved in southern Slovakia and improvements were also made in the material and spiritual level of the working public. From the once backward agriculture, we have developed in southern Slovakia advanced socialist agricultural mass production. Our socialist state invested billions in expenditures for irrigation technology and socialist reconstruction of agriculture in southern Slovakia. Thanks to these effects, that region now has many enterprises which in intensity of production, particularly in cereals and corn, match the top results achieved worldwide.

"Industry in southern Slovakia is undergoing dynamic development, there have sprung up modern factories, such as the Slovak Power-Engineering Plants in Levicie that participate in implementation of the nuclear program of Czechoslovak machine building, the plant Duslo in Sala, shipyards in Komarno, cement mills in Turnia on the Bodva River, the Vojany II power plant, South Slovak Pulp and Paper Mills in Sturovo, the shoemaking plant in Komarno, the meat combine in Rimavska Sobota, Dunajska Streda and Nove Zamky, etc. These enterprises have contributed and keep on contributing to the enhancement of life; they are forming and tempering the working class and are producing qualified technical personnel and specialists. The economic and social development of southern districts will derive significant benefits from the construction of waterworks on the Danube implemented in cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic and the prepared doubling of the track along the southern route from Kosice to the western regions of the state." (J Lenart: Selected Writings on the State, Vol 2, p 405, PRAVDA, Bratislava).

Central organs of the state administration, national committees, cultural institutions as well as cultural associations of minorities participate to a considerable degree in developing a fully rounded life of minorities.

The achieved results are adequate throughout the sphere of culture, education and propaganda.

The problems of minority culture on a central scale are dealt with and controlled by the SSR Ministry of Culture. It bases its efforts on resolutions of party organs which it works out departmentwide, particularly in application to the development of minority cultures. Minority cultures at lower levels are controlled by national committees. Methodological assistance in development of minority cultures is rendered by the Cultural Institute and, at lower levels, by cultural facilities of national committees, regional and district educational centers, in library activities by the Slovak Foundation, regional and district libraries, etc. In districts inhabited by citizens of Hungarian nationality are active municipal, plant and cooperative cultural and educational facilities, people's libraries, permanent movie theaters, museum facilities and other institutions which develop the cultural life of citizens of Hungarian nationality in direct proportion to the composition of the populace. A significant role in development of Hungarian minority culture is played by specialized minority cultural institutions, the MADACH Publishing House of Hungarian Literature, the Hungarian Regional Theater in Komarno with the Thalia permanent stage in Kosice, the Young Hearts Hungarian Song and Dance Ensemble and the CSEMADOK Cultural Association of Hungarian Workers in the CSSR.

The cultural and educational activities of CSEMADOK can be divided into two basic areas: the sector of extracurricular education and the sector of hobby and artistic activities.

An important position is occupied also by Hungarian national literature: Its institutional basis is formed primarily by the MADACH Publishing House in Bratislava which publishes original works of authors writing in Hungarian, provides for importation of current and classical Hungarian literature from Hungary in the original and works of world literature in Hungarian translation, arranges for translation of works of Slovak and Czech authors into Hungarian. The ideopolitical growth of the literature of writers of Hungarian nationality is tended to by the Hungarian section of the Union of Slovak Writers which has 32 regular and 3 registered members. Pursuit of cultural enjoyment for citizens of Hungarian nationality is attended to, in addition to CSEMADOK, also by the publishing houses (MADACH, ALFA, PRIRODA, Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House, PRAVDA, PRACA, MLADE LETA). Distribution of Hungarian literature is provided by assorted outlets of the Slovenska Kniha national enterprise. In addition to specialized book stores in Prague, Bratislava and Kosice, sales of Hungarian literature are provided for in 38 outlets of Slovenska Kniha.

Between 1976 and 1980, book titles in Hungarian published in Slovakia for the domestic market numbered 812 in an edition exceeding 3.5 million copies. This volume does not include a substantial part of the production of the MADACH Publishing House which is contracted for exportation to Hungary. In 1980, the MADACH Publishing House imported 169 titles in Hungarian in an edition of 252,000 copies. Priority in the structure of imports is given to artistic literature (155 titles).

In the period 1976-1981, original Hungarian literature in Slovakia became enriched by a total of 119 titles authored by 28 members of the Union of Slovak Writers and 31 unaffiliated authors.

Situation in the Educational Sector

Provisions for upbringing and education of youth of Hungarian nationality in their mother tongue are anchored in the CSSR Constitution, in Constitutional Law No 144/68 of the Codex regarding the status of nationalities in the CSSR as well as in the document "Continued Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System."

The current network of kindergardens providing education in the Hungarian language is basically stabilized. In 1980/81 the SSR had 331 nursery schools offering education in Hungarian with 620 classes and 15,690 children. The total number of children of Hungarian nationality in nursery schools is 21,901, which represents 9.5 percent of all enrolled children.

Specific problems are encountered in smaller communities with a mixture of nationalities where, due to the small number of children it is possible to establish only single-class kindergartens in which, as a rule, are enrolled all the children from the community. In these cases, education is provided bilingually in sections.

The network of elementary schools offering education in Hungarian has been completed and meets the requirements of parents. In the school year 1980/81 on SSR territory, there were 295 schools with 2,114 classes. The number of students attending those schools was 50,398.

Students of Hungarian nationality are accepted for regular high school studies in numbers corresponding to the share of populace of Hungarian nationality in the SSR. In districts with mixed nationalities, there are 11 regular high schools offering education in Hungarian and 9 regular high schools offering education in Slovak with established classes which offer education in Hungarian that total 140 with students numbering 4,220. An additional 936 students attend regular Slovak high schools. The total number of students of Hungarian nationality attending regular high schools is 5,156 which represents 9.6 percent of the total number of regular high school students.

In the school year 1980/81, there were 5 specialized high schools offering education in Hungarian and 18 Slovak specialized high schools with established classes offering education in Hungarian. Specialized high schools were attended by 7,129 students, which represents 8.3 percent.

At the present, there are 7 specialized high schools and 24 Slovak specialized high schools with established classes offering education in Hungarian.

All facilities for vocational training of youth were attended by 13,233 students of Hungarian nationality which represents a 9.6 percent share of the total number of students.

Nursery schools have approximately 1,100 female teachers of whom 89 percent have the required qualification, which is 1.9 percent in excess of the all-Slovak average. Preparation of female teachers is provided by two pedagogical schools in Hurbanovo and Lucenec. Elementary schools have 3,050 female teachers, of whom 93.4 percent have the required qualification. Regular high schools have 296 teachers, of whom 82.2 percent have the requisite qualification. In specialized high schools, there are 315 teachers, of whom 85.2 percent possess the required qualification. Training of teachers is provided by the Hungarian Department of the School of Pedagogy in Nitra and the School of Philosophy at the Comenius University in Bratislava.

Overall, institutions of higher learning in the CSSR are attended annually by an average 3,000 citizens of Hungarian nationality, more than 500 of whom are studying at institutions of higher learning in the CSR.

Share in the Press, Radio Broadcasts and Television

The Hungarian language press issued in Slovakia includes 28 titles with a total edition of 456,442 copies. Of that number, 20 are central press titles with 421,058 copies and 8 are district press titles with 35,384 copies. Central

press is issued as the press organ of party and state organs as well as social organizations. District press is the joint organ of the CPSL District Committee and the District National Committee Council. Part of nationality promotion in Hungarian is constituted by broadcasts of the Czechoslovak Broadcasting in Bratislava. Czechoslovak Broadcasting broadcasts 35 hours a week in Hungarian.

An important social role is played in the area of literary and artistic critique by the IRODALMI SZEMLE (Literary Horizon) periodical for literature, which is published in an edition of 3,000 copies by the MADACH Publishing House.

Similarly, Czechoslovak television in Slovakia broadcasts programs oriented to the life and work of Hungarian workers in the SSR.

The scope and number of journalistic materials from regions inhabited by citizens of Hungarian nationality in the SSR matches the publicity of journalistic materials from other regions of the SSR. The television screen shows the best workers, farmers, scientists and specialists from various areas of economic and social life from the ranks of citizens of Hungarian nationality. Simultaneous translation is provided for their statements so that the material can be understood by all television viewers.

In the area of culture, television records all more significant undertakings that pertain to the cultural life of our Hungarian fellow citizens.

Individual editorial offices of Czechoslovak television in Slovakia broadcast annually tens of documentary, animated and other films done in Hungarian. As an example, in 1981 television showed 21 action films, 3 with subtitles and 49 documentary movies. For the future, it is envisioned to even increase broadcasts of programs of Hungarian television and movie production, specifically in the first program and over weekends.

The attention devoted by the CPCZ to development of minority cultures is part of the international process of rapprochement of countries of the socialist community in the area of spiritual life and culture, with respecting of the national traditions, originality and individual character of socialist cultures.

In this process, the culture of our nations and nationalities enters a higher entity, the socialist culture of the world.

8204

CSO: 2400/155

STATE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

AU110855 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Krzysztof Mikolajczyk interview with Zdzislaw Tomal, deputy chairman of the State Council: "How To Build up Social Authority"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Last year, People's Councils were the subject of discussions and analysis. However, this discussion centered mainly on subsequent versions of the new draft law on People's Councils and local self-government bodies. It could even be said that the discussion postponed the council's daily activities, in a sense, until a later date. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Answer] Only partly. You have a point that the interest of the press, radio and television has been concentrated on the subsequent versions of the draft law on People's Councils and local self-government bodies. The result of this part of the discussion, which has rarely been featured in the columns of RZECZPOSPOLITA, is valuable and very helpful in legislative work. However, the broadest and most in-depth discussion on the draft law took place within the People's Councils themselves. Many opinions and conclusions were taken into consideration in the draft law; besides, the discussion has already played an important role in perfecting the current activities of People's Councils and their bodies. We can now openly say that the activities of People's Councils are being governed by the old law but are adapting to the spirit of the new draft law. I therefore think that the long period of consultation and the wide scope of the discussion were responsible for giving priority to the People's Council issue, as well as their roles and places in a socialist state's system of authority.

[Question] An important feature in socialist renewal is to return primary status to the representative bodies of the state authorities. Councillors are, meanwhile, voicing their reservations concerning the administration, particularly at the intermediate and primary levels....

[Answer] The principle behind primary status is clear in itself, but its implementation and observation in practice is neither easy nor straightforward. The stereotype that the People's Council and the local state administration are two separate authorities continues to be operative. The question of who should be the stronger comes to mind almost automatically.

This is why I cannot confirm any positive trends in the performance of control functions on People's Councils in relation to the local administration apparatus. There are decidedly too few of these controls. However, the armed forces inspection controls revealed that infringements, a lack of discipline and slackness are too numerous. This goal of control and supervision over People's Councils demands an urgent and tangible consolidation. This is also essential from the viewpoint that People's Councils support local administration measures which are absolutely necessary, though not always popular or understood.

I have worked in People's Councils for many years and I have been dreaming of a situation in which the councillors would say: Our governor, our chief, or our officials. I dream of them being happy with and proud of their work, and vice versa, of the governor or the chief saying: Our council, and be sure that they could count on its help and support in implementing difficult tasks. We must persevere towards this state of mutual relations. Reality still contradicts this.

Cases of the implementing body assuming authority on its own rarely prove to be the exception. It then slights council decisions and resolutions as well as councillors' questions and conclusions and reacts to criticism incorrectly. The same is true of People's Councils and councillors who do not inspire the implementing body to recognize their authority through either their actions or attitudes. If, for instance, by the end of the session, it appears that there is an insufficient quorum to adopt legally valid resolutions, then it is, after all, the councillors themselves who are undermining their own prestige. In a nutshell, there is much to do on both sides of the coin going under the name of the state authorities in order to act effectively, efficiently and honestly. This is, after all, a prerequisite for social trust and authority.

[Question] By implementing this control over People's Councils, the State Council has taken on the duty of giving them assistance. What are the new initiatives in this area?

[Answer] I think there is no need for me to remind you of the legal extent of the State Council's supreme control over People's Councils. Its main content is to give People's Councils comprehensive assistance in performing their tasks and disseminating their most valued experiences and initiatives. The State Council's working body is the Commission for People's Council Affairs. This consists of, aside from State Council members, representatives of the leadership cells of the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, of science, ministries and local People's Council activists.

We want to get closer to People's Councils and take part in the session and meetings of People's Council presidiums more often. We are examining their most important problems based on the information provided by the presidiums of 5-7 voivodship People's Councils. We have recently been examining the problems behind the control functions of People's Councils, whereas previously we examined problems concerning attention to the people's complaints and conclusions. Next, we plan to examine such matters as the council's activities

under economic reform conditions, the form, methods and contents of a councillor's work as well as the influence People's Councils have on the development of social activities. We discuss many current issues at meetings with chairmen of voivodship People's Councils as well as with the chairmen of certain voivodship People's Council commissions. We impart any conclusions drawn to the People's Councils for their benefit.

[Question] It is not only my opinion that the bond between councillors and their electors is likely to fluctuate. The traditional forms of these contacts have been broken and it is difficult to give examples of new initiatives. What are the reasons behind this state of affairs and what is being done to change this?

[Answer] Yes, this is a bad phenomenon. It is one of the manifestations of the political and social crisis. The serious economic difficulties, market worries and restricted budget and investment resources are discouraging many councillors from meeting. It seems difficult to wonder about this; yet it is exactly because it is difficult, when requirements exceed real potential in so many areas, that we must discuss the chances of increasing production and the possibilities of satisfying these enormous needs together with the electors.

A gradual normalization in the country should also be expressed by restoring the correct significance to and frequency of meetings between councillors and their electors. People's Councils themselves have become aware of this problem. We can therefore also expect a "normalization" in this very important area.

[Question] What tasks then lie before the councils during the last year of their term of office?

[Answer] If this year is to bring even a small but perceptible improvement in the situation, then we must set to work in earnest from the very first months. A huge workload has accumulated before the People's Councils and their bodies. Many concrete tasks have arisen from the discussions and the resolution of the joint PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum.

Poland is not an abstraction. Whatever goes on in every rural parish, town or voivodship contributes to the country's situation. People's Councils can and should be the driving force behind activities aimed at emerging from the crisis and regaining economic equilibrium as well as improving the market situation. Every industrial plant, every construction enterprise and every farm should be within their view. People's Councils cannot be indifferent to the phenomena of wastefulness, bad management, the breakdown of work discipline and service duties, a drop in production and work productivity with a simultaneous growth in the pay fund. In a nutshell, the managing eye of the People's Councils is very necessary.

GLOWCZYK, CYPRYNIAK INTERVIEWED ON PZPR CAMPAIGN

AU121725 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 83 p 5

[Jerzy Gonczarski report: "Party Problems"]

[Text] The situation within the party, following the recently concluded reports-programs campaign, was the subject of the press conference held for foreign correspondents by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and PZPR Central Committee Organizational Department. The conference was held on 8 March at the INTERPRESS Press Center in Warsaw.

The main aim of the general party debate, J. Glowczyk said, was to get some idea of how the resolution adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Party Congress has been implemented. We have reviewed our forces and appraised the state and condition of the PZPR on all organizational levels. The discussion generally confirmed the correctness of the course prepared for the party by the Ninth PZPR Congress.

J. Glowczyk recalled the most important decisions of the congress program since, as he said, the program had not fully reached the awareness of the people or those who are interested in our country.

In the opinion of J. Glowczyk, the party has put its ranks into order and consolidated its ideological identity. The concluded campaign was responsible for increasing the quality of the party's ranks while their numbers were slightly reduced. J. Glowczyk presented the thesis that the party will, on the basis of effort and accord, draw into its program anyone who is not opposed to the PZPR.

Here are some comprehensive excerpts from the rounds of questions and answers.

[Question] Is the instruction issued by the Central Committee Politburo after the announcement of martial law on internal party matters still binding? Which copy of the party statute did the Politburo base its decision on when issuing this document? (From a representative of the Spanish newspaper LA VANGUARDIA)

J. Glowczyk: This instruction was adopted in an exceptional situation when it was difficult to convene the statutory bodies of the party. It was applied

in a very limited way even when, in accordance with the instruction, we would have been justified in using it fully. The decisions made on the basis of the instruction were always approved by the statutory bodies.

K. Cypryński: According to our statute, the Central Committee is the highest authority during intercongress periods. The Politburo is its executive body, is authorized to make decisions on particularly important matters and is obliged to submit them to the Central Committee. At the Seventh Plenum, the Central Committee, as a legally empowered body, approved various decisions made by the Politburo including that on this instruction.

[Question] What, in the view of the party leadership, is the level of the activity of the primary party organizations at plants? Please define the party's main tasks after the reports campaign. (From NEUES DEUTSCHLAND)

K. Cypryński: In our view, almost 10 percent of the primary party organizations at plants are still not showing a satisfactory level of activity. With regard to main tasks following the reports campaign, then they have not, in essence, changed, but we are still concerned about implementing all the measures included in the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Party Congress. In other words, we are concerned with the implementation of the socioeconomic reform program together, of course, with all the corrections which have arisen from the way in which the economy develops.

[Question] Since the Ninth PZPR Congress was a perfect example of party self-appraisal, in my view at least, what then led to such dreadful disorder and such a difficult situation? What proof have you to justify the thesis that the people should have faith in the party? (From NEW YORK TIMES)

J. Glowczyk: The disorder came about before the Ninth PZPR Congress, not after, due to two factors which I would call the voluntarism of the 1970's team as well as the voluntarism of the group of leaders who gained control over the post-August social organizations, including the former Solidarity trade union, while proclaiming a program of social and economic demagoguery. Also, after the Ninth PZPR Congress, when there was a great chance of checking the fall in production, a wave of strikes surged over the country and everything was done under the slogan that this was in the interests of the working people. The effect was such that there was greater disorder.

My answer to your second question is such: We are justifying the people's faith in the party by the fact that we have a constructive program which has so far not been presented by any opposition group, nor is it likely to be. The weakness of our political opponents is due to the fact that their programs are constructed on a "no" basis. We also justify the people's faith in the party by the fact that, despite the great confusion which the people experienced, they are wise and able enough to view what you called "party self-appraisal" positively. They also have the courage to admit to everything that was wrong in our activities.

[Question] What is your view of the current state of party propaganda? When will the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum take place and what issues will it discuss? (From a representative of the Chinese agency XINHUA)

J. Glowczyk: I am constantly dissatisfied with the state of our party propaganda, particularly its consultative function. I am not dissatisfied because our journalists are writing badly, since it is not, quite simply, easy to make people aware by promising them nothing other than hard work and a curb on the drop of their standard of living. Journalists should possess completely new skills and talents for conveying such information. On the other hand, the situation has improved as far as the extent and speed of relaying the information we use in party and public propaganda is concerned. However, this is not all that can be done, particularly in our propaganda on the economy, which arouses much emotion, questions and doubts that are entirely understandable, since we are having difficulty in checking the process of inflation. However, replying to your question about the date fixed for the 12th Plenum, I can tell you it will take place around the end of March and the beginning of April. The plenum will deal with ideological problems, including propaganda ones.

[Question] How can you justify the dismissal of the chief editors of ZDANIE and PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY? (From CHICAGO SUN TIMES)

J. Glowczyk: I would like to explain that PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY had no chief editor for a long time. The former editor is in the United States, and I am not sure if he has returned or not. The organizations associated with the Chief Technical Organization [NOT], whose publication is PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, have frequently said that their editorial staff lacks a programmatic line and that this must be changed. There were also attempts at publishing material which could be viewed as being opposed to the principles of our system. I will not deny that we do not intend to permit these activities. However, as far as the former chief editor of the Krakow monthly ZDANIE is concerned, we felt that he did not suit requirements.

Toward the end of the press conference, development prospects for the trade unions and the future of agriculture in the light of the constitutional draft guarantee of private ownership by peasants were discussed.

CSO: 2600/562

ACTIVITIES OF TERRITORIAL OPERATIONAL GROUPS EVALUATED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Dr Marian Wojtylowicz: "A Time of Evaluation and Reflection"]

[Text] The termination in the past year of the activity of territorial operational groups [TOG] inclines one to try to summarize and evaluate the effects of this activity. In the future this problem will undoubtedly become the subject of broader works concerning the role and participation of the military in these difficult times for our country. Today we will try only to achieve a certain balance of the effects brought about as a result of TOG activity. These reflections are based on sociological studies conducted by the WAP Institute of Social Research among workers that carried out the tasks of the TOG.

Before martial law was declared and after it was introduced, a significant number of career soldiers and regular army personnel made their way from the barracks to the factories, towns, villages, and settlements to carry on a firm battle against any manifestations of evil, especially anarchy, spreading in civic life. Of concern also was finding and eliminating the reasons for people's dissatisfaction in order that decisions of the central administration regarding improvement in living conditions might permeate more rapidly to the least elements, and finally eliminating the causes that were deepening the crisis. Carrying out these tasks, the TOG cooperated closely with local organizations of the PZPR political parties, people's councils, social organizations, and workers' action groups.

What deserves to be stressed is that through the whole period of activity, the TOG did not eliminate from the system the constitutional authority of any of the legal, state, or political organs and, by the same token, did not skimp with respect to the competencies envisioned for them by the law.

According to the opinions of members of the TOG, their activities met with great respect from the community. The decided majority of the population of regions in which the TOG was active looked with hope and faith on the efforts of the army to stabilize life and save the country. The most positive opinions

about the activity of the groups were expressed by individual farmers and workers. They turned to the TOG not only regarding individual matters, but also regarding community matters having to do with their surroundings and work establishments.

The style of work of the TOG, their openness and straightforward control, and the participation of community representatives in their work, had the effect that the attitude of the people toward the TOG and the effects of their activity was always positive. The community accorded every respect to the activity of the groups aimed at helping the territorial state authorities and all of society in extracting itself from the crisis.

Toward the end of the past year, 23 November, at the behest of the leader of the Army Council for National Security, countrywide control was initiated, the second stage of activity of TOG. This decision resulted mainly from the need to define the character and scope of changes that took place during the state of martial law in the functioning of the territorial organs of state, authority at the basic level and in the functioning of the local elements of the economy. Also taken into account were the conclusions and claims of the people regarding inefficiency, wastefulness, and insensitivity in some regions of the country and in the boards of territorial administrative organs. Meanwhile there also were representatives in the TOG of the administration and special services: specialists of various branches of the economy and state administration (NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control], PIH [State Trade Inspectorate], Sanepid, and representatives of fire-fighters).

The range of control was very broad and included verification of the putting into practice of the recommendations of the preceding period of TOG activity, verification of enforcing the resolutions and recommendations of superior authorities, the course and means of settling complaints through civil complaint and application boards, as well as checking on the activities of the administration during the period of administrative developing of residential education and upbringing and many other areas of community life.

In this way, then, military control was supposed to give adequate answers to the question of how it acted in our country and how effective the activities of the territorial agencies of the state administration were. An objectively sincere response to this question was expected also by the majority of our society. Knowing the results of the activities of the TOG, can we now answer these questions? Another question is suggested by this: Did TOG fulfill society's expectations?

In the opinion of representatives of TOG, the activity of the groups aimed at improving social discipline was especially effective. In evaluating the work of almost all members of TOG involved in the study, where they were active, discipline of work in agencies, institutions, bureaus and service establishments increased. The time taken to settle civil matters decreased, and the concern of workers for equipment and property of plants increased.

The effective activity of the TOG led also to a situation in which agencies at the basic level actually started to settle personal problems of residents of towns, communities, villages, and settlements. A certain improvement in the

style of work of the territorial agencies occurred, harmony and order increased, as did the detection of infractions. The revitalization of administration was noticeable. In many cases, as a result of TOG intervention, files of complaints and applications presented by citizens to community agencies were established. To achieve this, much effort and moral strength was required, and sometimes even courage on the part of TOG members since quite often they were required to break up local "clans" and "systems."

Effective activity in the matter of improving the functioning of the state administration and effectively executed control duties also resulted in a more just distribution of goods in short supply to warehouses, shops, and distributors. In this manner bribery, nepotism, and speculation were curtailed. Efficient activity of TOG in these areas was, in the opinion of their members, clearly evident and positively regarded by the local population.

While the groups were active, there was a certain improvement in maintaining order and cleanliness in community areas, and an improvement in harmony and order at SKR transport bases, production cooperatives, warehouses, etc.

Noticeable changes for the better were not, however, a universal manifestation. There were still incidents that in the opinion of officers might have been forestalled by local authorities without undue force or special means. Not all recommendations of the groups made during the first period of their activity were properly carried out. Sometimes members of TOG met with glaring examples of lack of concern and incompetence. There were also confirmed cases of time-wasting at work, making light of the recommendations of higher authorities, lack of initiative, and even disobedience. Some of the directors of territorial administration attempted frequently to explain many of the inadequacies and shortcomings as due to material difficulties and the crisis.

Transport, consumer supply, and residential building were areas most censoriously evaluated. Despite the special preoccupation of TOG in these areas of life, there was no satisfactory improvement according to TOG members.

It is true that much has changed for the better, but these changes do not meet expectations or potential. TOG members aver that in those agencies of territorial administration where the style and method of administration changed, there were better results, and the agencies in this way also gained community acceptance.

The attitude of society to people in uniform was marked by a large measure of good will and cordiality. The authority of the army during martial law was not shaken. The majority of workers reasonably valued the work and efforts of the army, which was carrying out a task of historical significance: the creation of conditions for the socialistic renewal of the country. The army and TOG were not a defensive shield for corrupt and compromised people. Almost daily the press published decisions that were made at the suggestions of TOG and the Armed Forces Inspectorate that eliminated wrongs. People who held positions in agencies, bureaus, etc., and impeded progress by their passive behavior and torpedoed all actions had simply to be removed. Decided battles must always be waged against such people.

Special attention must be given to the fact in the opinions of the lowest social classes, the peasants and workers, the army maintained and even improved its authority. Workers in controlled shops often expressed the view that "only the army can control the situation in the country." Moreover they believed that the army, by supporting the morally healthy segment of society, can attain real, socially-desired changes in the country, specifically, liquidation of the continuously reborn hydra of bureaucratism and nepotism.

Were the expectations met?

Today, from the perspective of the changes that are taking place in our socialist republic, this must be answered in the affirmative. For the army, and this includes TOG, saved the country from civil war and from the complete disintegration of the state. Such opinions were inculcated in society through the active work of the members of TOG, full of dedication and commitment to the matter. This work retarded the growing anarchy, combatted corruption and wastefulness, and compelled good, well-planned work.

In general, TOG members believe that the activity of the army during martial law was accorded full recognition by a decisive majority of society. Frequently, we heard opinions of soldiers that expressed the view that they were "people with clean hands and hearts, open to the injustices and various illegalities still suffered by the people."

Many matters, in the opinion of TOG members, may be settled by the territorial organs of state authority. Decisions of central authorities are not needed in every case; sometimes good will and cooperation between local agencies and citizens is enough. But there was too little of such cooperation, and of direct contacts between agency and citizen in the period just past. TOG members express the view that territorial organs of state economic and political administration are making somewhat limited attempts to elucidate the decisions made at central levels. Lack of such contacts results in certain decisions not being understood properly and various false conjectures being made, or in the decisions being accepted without personal commitment. There are numerous examples of this. People quite frequently turned to officers with a request for an explanation of the substance and assumptions of the economic reform and social policy or of the tasks and objectives of PRON.

TOG members believe that there is too little activity on the part of the workers in community agencies aimed at winning people over to party policies and government. The people do not understand many affairs and problems, too little is discussed with them, and too little is explained to them. As members of TOG confirm, the real situation demands that in direct contacts with workers, not only must joint complaints be lodged against erroneous decisions of past years, which have an undoubted effect on our difficult situation, but ways of resolving the crisis must be sought jointly.

This trial balance leads to the conclusion that the activity of TOG was crowned with great success in the form of revitalizing territorial state administration. A significant improvement in the working of the state administration in agencies in towns and communities was attained; service to citizens was

improved. In many work places, as a result of TOG activity, there was an improvement in management of materials, wastefulness was eliminated, and a greater work discipline developed.

Society reasonably values the efforts of the army aimed at insuring stabilization and peaceful existence for all people.

The activity of the groups contributed to improving the functioning of health services and community safety, and to better services for farmers. But much still remains to be done at the village level. The operation of all services connected with the Polish village must therefore concentrate on eliminating as rapidly as possible the irregularities confirmed in the course of inspection, and eliminating the reasons for their development. The indicated shortcomings should compel us to activate agricultural services and other organs of territorial authority, which would undoubtedly be advantageous not only for the local community, but also for the whole country.

From the trial balance presented of the activities of TOG, it is apparent that there was some kind of tremor in the life of our society. Not quite universally, but in an obvious and perceptible manner. Overcame, albeit slowly, is the crisis of confidence in territorial administrative and social authorities which appeared in the fall of 1980, and deepened as a result of the activity of antisocialist forces in 1981. People are beginning to believe that the crisis situation will, at last, be overcome.

In the opinion of representatives of TOG, further improvement is required in the work of agencies and in the control activity of institutions responsible for control. Simulated work or tolerant control are worse than no work or total lack of control.

TOG members stress that although the general situation is significantly improved in comparison with 1981, there is still a relatively large number of matters that require further improvement. What we are concerned with here is that everyone, without regard for position, should undertake honest and self-sacrificing work without waiting for guidelines from above.

2950

CSO: 2600/413

URBAN INTERVIEWED ON FOREIGN PRESS DISTORTIONS

AU130745 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[PAP interview by unidentified reporter with Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman: "Freedom To Distort Words"---date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You have written an article for THE LONDON TIMES entitled "Please Give Poland A Chance." Has this request of yours been heeded?

[Answer] I did not request anything of the sort: The TIMES editorial staff commissioned an article from me in order to, as they put it, present their readers with the stance of the other side, in other words our stance, on Polish matters. I wrote explaining why the sanctions against Poland are illogical from the point of view of Western politics. The text of my article was altered and considerably shortened. I gave the article the title "Poland Does Not Want To Be a Simmering Volcano." The editors gave it another title without consulting the author. The new title suggests that the Polish Government has already fallen onto its knees and is begging for mercy as a result of the sanctions.

[Question] The old British TIMES has departed from its reliable image.

[Answer] Everything is a question of how one interprets freedom of expression. So far, the West has not put forward the thesis at the Madrid CSCE conference that freedom of expression means freedom to distort other people's words; however, practice outstrips theory. On the part of the West, the propaganda war is assuming the shape of catch-as-catch-can wrestling. Let us imagine a PAP correspondent in Washington going to the State Department and writing later that a spokesman in the department said: "Our villainous policy toward Poland is meant to give the Polish nation a good strapping." In reality, a correspondent writes a report on what a U.S. Government representative has really said, and expresses his own opinion on what has been said in a commentary. In any case, this example is abstract because there is no PAP correspondent in Washington. The last one was quite simply thrown out of Washington even though he had not distorted anyone's words.

[Question] You have had bad experiences with the TIMES, but is it justified to criticize immediately the entire Western press generally?

[Answer] Different editorial teams report on Poland with different degrees of honesty, but what the large agencies and dailies write is almost always adapted to a fixed line of propaganda. What impressive political discipline this is! A lot of questions are asked during my press conferences, but if my answers do not fit in with the idea that the Polish authorities are acting in a repressive manner, then these answers are usually completely omitted.

B. Brumley from the American agency ASSOCIATED PRESS wrote the following piece of disinformation: "The government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, has said that price rises and other economic difficulties are making the community nervous, and on Tuesday, 1 March, he repeated that the unrest may lead to the postponement of Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland."

I was really speaking about social modds in Poland against the background of the economic difficulties, but an hour later concerning the pope's visit Brumley freely applied my words to a completely different context. It is a lie that I made any suggestion that this visit could be postponed for any reason. However, since many Western politicians and propagandists do not approve of the pope's visit, numerous papers in the West have printed reports that Urban told a press conference that the Polish Government is putting a question mark over this visit.

The French radio RFI has said that since Urban said that the church cannot be a scene for political activity, therefore, and I quote, "It is obvious that there is no end to the bargaining connected with John Paul II's visit. However, there is no knowing how far the general's team will dare to go. As we can see, however, the team has no shortage of audacity." After my conference, the DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote: Government spokesman Jerzy Urban has applied a new dose of doubt to the pope's June visit."

In LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, Henryk Kurta wrote an article entitled "John Paul II's Visit to Poland Is More and More Uncertain." He throws into this article something that I have said on a different matter, namely a reply to a question concerning an amnesty, and now he wonders if "the Polish church may not find a pretext to announce that the holy father's visit is impossible." "The Poles," he adds, "would understand this very well." But we can add that at the same time, Primate Glemp has said, according to REUTERS. "There are no serious problems with fixing a program for the planned second visit by John Paul II to his fatherland in June." And furthermore: "Generally speaking, the government's stance is well-meaning. There are still things to be discussed, but there are no disputes and problems as to the duration of the visit."

However, let us get back to my 1 March press conference. THE DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote: "Doubts as to the pope's visit have recently been increased by Urban's statements, in which he expressed his doubts as to this visit with reference to the extremists who are using church services for their hostile aims." And further on: "It is not out of the question that the security services themselves staged the incidents that took place before and after the services in order to create a pretext for attacking the church and an excuse for postponing the visit."

[Question] I think that is enough of these examples.

[Answer] The NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG writes about alleged disputes between the government and the episcopate and doubts whether the pope's visit will take place. It mentions the "Appearance of secret police in churches in Katowice and Krakow" as proof of this. Further on it says: "Nothing like this has ever happened in Poland except for one single episode in the Middle Ages when King Boleslaw entered a Krakow church and killed Bishop, later Saint, Stanislaw." This glittering argument also refers to my statements.

Look how people create an atmosphere. I do not know too much about "secret police," but I imagine that if representatives of this institution were to be posted inside churches, they would look like praying old ladies. They would not remind anyone of a king running his sword through a bishop.

Veronique Sullet has written in the French LIBERATION that I have said that if the episcopate fails to restrain the "fighting priests and radical bishops," then—and I quote—"The pope's journey will be open to question."

[Question] But what did you really say in the end during the press conference?

[Answer] I would do best to quote the report word for word, together with all the irregularities of the spoken word: "In reply to a question whether the government recognizes churches as sanctuaries free from political and police activity, I also meant that the government does indeed believe that churches should not be scenes of political action, but merely places where people can occupy themselves with religious matters and gather there for this purpose. I also wish to say that it often happens otherwise. In many cases, churches are being misused for political meetings, and events of a political nature also occur when everyone has left the church. The continued occurrence of events of this kind is making the Polish authorities suspect that the organizers of these events, who in any case usually act despite the appeals of priests for people to go home peacefully, are trying to make the pope's coming visit to Poland difficult or are trying to spoil the atmosphere for this visit.

Since the pope's visit to Poland, which is the pope's intention and hosting him is the intention of the Polish Government and episcopate, is causing various types of criticism in the West, including by the press, we can see that there are political forces in the world who would like the pope's visit not to take place. We can even suspect that some secretive elements in Poland share this conviction, those that are creating a false political climate around churches.

One of the most recent examples of this was some procession organized in Zolibroz [a Warsaw district] last Sunday by a group of people who came out of a church. Some Western papers have created a hullabaloo about this event, which PAP has reported on. They have exaggerated as usual by saying that there were several thousand people there whereas in fact there were only several hundred. No water cannons were used, and the crowd was not dispersed in any way at all. The militia quite simply appeared because a marching body was

proceeding along a street without the appropriate permit, and they tried to persuade the procession to disperse, checking some people's identity.

We believe that church services in Poland should end like they do all over the world, and not transform themselves into political marches which violate the public order.

[Question] Next, Mr Fisher from the LOS ANGELES TIMES asked: "I would like to find out if there are other places where extremist elements exist, in the party for instance or in other institutions, which would also attempt to oppose the pope's visit."

[Answer] I expressed a view that stems from political reasoning. I said that we have noticed certain statements and commentaries which are against the idea of the pope's visit throughout the world, and at the same time in Poland we have observed some kind of political provocations occurring during religious services and often occurring despite the appeals of the priests to peacefully disperse (by the way, there are priests who do encourage this kind of political misuse of churches). I see a connection between these events by applying logical political thinking.

I suppose there are also secretive elements in Poland who would prefer that the pope did not visit Poland. And this is all I said on this subject. As far as secretive elements elsewhere which would oppose the pope's visit are concerned, there are no such elements anywhere else, proof of which is that no political provocations which could upset the climate for the pope's coming visit are occurring anywhere else. That was what I said literally, completely and without changes. All the same, what I said has aroused fears that the pope's journey may not take place since the spokesman has made it understood that the government is not concerned about it.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

[Answer] One moment. I spoke about the demonstration after the mass in Zoliborz at the conference. But the following day, the Western press said that several thousand, and even more than ten thousand, people had demonstrated after the mass, and the militia had dispersed them with water cannon and carried out mass arrests. I presented a real picture of the events at the conference. Later, part of the Western press completely ignored what they had said earlier and said that no political demonstrations after church services had taken place in Zoliborz at all, nor anywhere else. They said that these demonstrations had been dreamed up by the authorities and by Urban in order to create a pretext for not inviting the pope to Poland.

Political concepts and facts underwent a change. First it was a question of presenting Poland as a volcano, as a country where the community is demonstrating en masse against the authorities. Then a decision was made to say something opposite, that Poland is completely calm and that it is only the authorities dreaming up unrest or provoking it so that the pope's visit may not come about.

An Italian daily, I will not mention its name, has written as follows: "Urban said that churches should not be a scene or gathering point for political actions or demonstrations. In this way, he has accused the church of organizing political demonstrations. With an interpretation like this, every holy mass in which numerous faithful participate can be recognized as a political demonstration or rally by the authorities.

These are the kinds of reports and commentaries made. So the way the Western press sees it, no political demonstrations occur during and after masses. Nevertheless, Western correspondents know well in advance about political demonstrations which are to be organized, and they are always at the scene either inside the church or in front of it. When they come to church, peace-keeping forces can be safely summoned to neighboring streets, for one can be sure that the peace will soon be disturbed in the neighborhood. So far, nobody seems to have seen Western correspondents, always staunch defenders of the faith and the church even if they represent atheist papers, inside a church where only prayers are taking place.

[Question] If so many Western correspondents distort your words and meaning, writing as they do not about what is happening but about what lends support to their editors' current policy, then is there any sense at all in you holding press conferences?

[Answer] I ask myself the same question. One can even expand the question. If most Western correspondents believe that they come across nothing but persecution and difficulties in Poland and I am serving them nothing but lies, and if in our opinion they see and hear not what there is to be seen and heard but what they want to see and hear, would it not be better for them to stay at home instead of coming to Warsaw? In any case, it would be better for me if they composed their distorted facts and instigating commentaries at home and at their own cost, not mine.

CSO: 2600/561

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Kielce Board on Reports Campaign

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 29 Dec 82 p 2

[Unsigned article: "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: Reports Campaign Within Party Elements and Echelons; Thanks for Good Work"]

[Text] Yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee dealt with an assessment of the reports campaign within the province party organization which has, properly speaking (except for the city party committee in Skarzysko), reached its end. During the reports meetings at party groups, which on the whole were held on schedule, an atmosphere of open exchange of views had reigned. The discussion was concentrated on the principal problems of particular departments or plants: social-communal problems, material supplies, coproduction, discipline and thrift. The market supplies of staple foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods and the functioning of trade were criticized. Considerable space was devoted to the introduction of the economic reform, on pointing to various barriers which have to be regularly surmounted on that path.

Much less attention, on the other hand, was devoted to intra-party matters, although the participation of party members in the formation of the new trade unions was analyzed, the performance of the tasks entrusted to them individually was assessed, and plans of political activation were updated so as to have the party program reach more effectively those cooperating with it and gain support for it.

At basic and branch party organizations other than the rural ones the attendance at reports meetings was high, reaching 80 to 95 percent, and the discussion more lively, polemical and critical. Workers and peasants as well as experts took a very active part in that discussion. The questions considered were: to what extent have party organizations succeeded in implementing their own resolutions as well as those of the higher echelons? and how effectively do they influence the community and the work forces? It is a pity that too often the pertinent evaluations have been based on formal-quantitative criterions rather than on qualitative ones relating to foundations of consciousness and ideological motivation. Despite these shortcomings, the course of those meetings demonstrates that the party is strengthening its ranks and becoming more influential and that the climate surrounding it is changing, with the desire for national agreement growing steadily more common. It is worth noting that,

during the discussion, mention was also made of the need to strengthen party discipline, settle accounts with those comrades who have not been performing their duties and are not displaying political and occupational activism.

At the plant conferences, on the other hand, quite logically, problems of an economic nature predominated, mainly those of applying the economic reform, which is after all of tremendous importance to the future of all work-forces. At these conferences, attention was drawn to the need for a marked revival of the work of party groups, for their greater influence on the attitudes of the younger workers, and for intensifying various forms of ideological training. As for the gmina and city-gmina conferences, they often focused on shortcomings of intra-party and socio-economic life and inferred conclusions for further work from their critical analysis. These conferences expressed approbation of the program line being implemented so tenaciously by the party with the object of leading the country out of the crisis and stressed the need for greater consistency at all levels of political and socio-economic action.

The Executive Board of the Province Committee at yesterday's session expressed its thanks to the work-forces of all enterprises and work establishments which, despite the supply problems and numerous difficulties, have exceeded their output targets for 1982. Every material addition to the market contributes to alleviating the difficulties and tensions and making easier the life of the entire population of the province.

Kielce Board on Social Discipline

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 2

[Unsigned article: "From the deliberations of the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee: Law and Order and Social Discipline; Prospects for the Development of Small Industry"]

[Text] Seen from the vantage point of the year that has elapsed and on assessing the state of public security and discipline, it is to be acknowledged that the introduction of the martial law was--also in the Kielce Province--of tremendous importance to the gradual socio-political stabilization and the effective counter-acting of all negative phenomena menacing the interests of the state and citizens. Such is the general conclusion ensuing from the discussion of the assessment, submitted to the Executive Board of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee, of the implementation of tasks and party work within the organs of law enforcement and administration of justice.

The martial law--now suspended--was necessitated by both political and social considerations. The political chaos and growing activity of anti-socialist forces were deliberately aimed against the organs of the apparatus of law enforcement and the forces standing watch over public order. This had resulted in growing activity of criminal groups acting aggressively and expecting to act with impunity. That was particularly evident toward the end of 1981 when, also in the Kielce Province, a drastic rise in ordinary and economic crimes as well as in robberies and homicides had been recorded.

It is thought that the resolute attitude of the army and the consistent activity of the organs of law enforcement and administration of justice caused some increase in the public's feeling of security in public places. The proportion of crimes detected has increased. At the same time, though, the number of common crimes continues to be high and the state of public safety still does not meet the expectations of society. The reason is because the province is the site of many negative and crime-breeding processes due to the relaxation of social discipline, alcoholism, parasitism, demoralization of the youth and recidivism which--what is particularly important--comprises numerous young people. Suffice it to mention that the young account for about 15 percent of the perpetrators of crime in the province. It is objectionable and disturbing that an increasing number of on-train thefts is being made by employees of the Polish State Railroads (PKP) and that black-market dealings are growing. There exist economic reasons for this phenomenon, but it also is meeting with deep resistance from society.

Thus, society demands resolute anti-speculation measures, including severe legal sanctions. Hence also--as declared by the Executive Board--everything must be done to combat crime and more severe--though fully objective--sentences should be meted out. The point is that, among other things, the judicial system is essentially autonomous but it should be fully aware of the need to defend the interests of the socialist society and state. This is a problem that acquires a special importance in the current political and social situation.

The next item on the agenda--discussed with the participation of, among others, members of the Presidium of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party and cooperative and artisan communities--was the assessment, by the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee, of the socio-economic situation in small industry and the discussion of the program for its development until 1985. It was recognized that this sphere of production and services has great prospects for development and a tremendous social demand. Last year alone small industry in the Kielce Province produced consumer goods and services worth more than 28 billion zlotys. These tasks will successively grow in the subsequent years, including production for export as well. But materials supplies and tax relief facilitating the development of small industry and chiefly of private artisans must be attended to. At the same time, however, social and administrative controls of prices and profits, which--as is commonly believed--in many cases are exorbitant, should not be abandoned.

The discussion also included the thematic plan of sessions of the Province Committee for 1983 and the current socio-political situation in the province.

Leszno Plenum on Developmental Problems

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 4 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Jerzy Wizerkaniuk: "Principal Problems of the Province's Development"]

[Text] [Text]/OWN INFORMATION. The principal problems of the socio-economic development of the Kielce Province, ensuing from the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, were the chief topic of this year's first plenary session of the party's Province Committee held yesterday in Leszno. The deliberations, which were chaired by Jan Plociniczak, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee, were attended by Manfred Gorywoda,

Central Committee secretary. Other participants included the Central Committee members Edward Banicki of Rawicz and Jan Wozniak of Leszno./ [printed in boldface]

The report of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, which introduced the discussion, was presented by Jerzy Kolodziej, Province Committee secretary. It assessed the state of the province's economy and the tasks for the coming period. It declared at the outset that one of the most important measures to have been taken under the martial law was introducing the economic reform. This has not, to be sure--because it could not--changed tangibly the difficult economic and market situation, but it is increasingly helping to surmount the numerous economic and production difficulties being experienced by the economy. At many Leszno plants last year output has increased even though overall output was not greater than in 1981. This, however, is due to the fact that the Leszno Province lacks the extractive industry and is largely based on agricultural and food industry.

Noteworthy also is the fact that during last year the utilization of work time in the province's industry, construction, transport and communications has steadily improved. Work discipline also has been restored. In 1982 industrial production serving to activize agriculture and develop agricultural production also has increased. The main producers in this field became, among others, the Poultry Equipment and Facility Works in Gostyn, the Leszno Pump Factory, the Koscian METALCHEM Chemical Equipment Works (ZUCH), the MEPROZET, the Presko Municipal Equipment Plant (WUKO) in Wschow, and labor cooperatives as well as cooperatives of the disabled.

The year 1982 brought along the activization of production for exports in the province. During the first three quarters of the year alone such production was implemented by 35 units of the nationalized economy as well as by organizations subordinate to the Central Union of Artisan Trades. Altogether, during that period, goods worth 2 billion zlotys were exported.

Further, secretary J. Kolodziej pointed to the weaker links in the province's economy. Last year the decline of multi-family construction in the Leszno Province could not be halted. The plan for building 852 dwellings could be fulfilled barely 93 percent.

Regarding the tasks facing the region's economy, the Province Committee secretary stated that it is in the interest of enterprises to draft long-range plans containing as an integral part plans for social and consumer projects. It is urgently necessary to speed up the reactivation and formation of worker self-governments, which are a factor activizing the work collectives in the process of surmounting the crisis, according to the speaker. By the 15th of last month self-governments have been reactivated in 36 enterprises.

The report as well as the discussion analyzed in depth matters relating to housing construction. The resolution of November 1981 of the Province Committee was referred to. It was found that despite the brief period of time elapsed since then, a number of organizational measures has already been taken to bring

order in housing construction, especially multi-family construction. Unfortunately, many disturbing problems still persist: this may be exemplified by the issue of preparing suitable building lots.

The discussion ensued in a polemic between comrade Andrzej Szymanowski of Koscian and Deputy Governor of Leszno Province Joanna Krumrey concerning the situation of the Leszno Province health service.

The floor during the discussion was taken by Central Committee secretary Manfred Gorywoda, who spoke of, among other things, the conditions that must be met to normalize socio-economic life. He also described the changes which, as dictated by experience, will be introduced in the premises of the economic reform. Referring to certain questions asked during the discussion, he explained that, while a tangible increase in output and stabilization of the economy are taking place, the mobilization and enhanced attention of party echelons and PZPR members are needed as regards processes of improving production and organization of labor.

As the second item on its agenda the plenum approved the materials for the province reports conference, which will be held in Leszno on 29 January of this year.

Krosno Plenum on Party Members

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 17 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Slawomir Balda and Edward Wisz: "Plenum of the Krosno Province PZPR Committee: Purpose--Shaping Active Attitudes of Party Members"]

[Text] /(Own service) The Plenum of the Krosno Province PZPR Committee dealt chiefly with an assessment of the state of the consciousness and political culture of working people and the determination of the main directions of activity of the province party organization for the immediate future in shaping the attitudes and ideological-upbringing work in a situation of acute political struggle imposed by forces hostile to our socialist system and state./ [printed in boldface]

The deliberations (on [January] 15 [1983]), which were chaired by Henryk Wojtal, secretary of the Krosno Province PZPR Committee, were attended by members and candidate members of the PZPR Province Committee, the Province Review Commission (WKR) and the Province Party Control Commission (WKKP) as well as by heads of party work regions, secretaries of basic party echelons and large plant party committees, and a numerous ideological-front aktiv from the entire Subcarpathian area. Also attending were: Bohdan Jachacz, director of the Department of the Press, Radio and Television under the PZPR Central Committee; Col (Retired) Zygmunt Klimaszewski, commissioner, plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee (KOK); and Tadeusz Kruk, Krosno Province Governor.

The report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee concerning tasks of ideological-upbringing work in the activities of the province party organization was presented by Jan Luczynski, Province Committee secretary.

During the deliberations as well as during the businesslike and occasionally controversial and polemical discussion, it was stated that working people of the entire Subcarpathians desire the normalization of social life. This is demonstrated by the complete lack of support for the actions of the anti-socialist forces and the extremist underground. It can thus be stated that the party's policy, the line of the 9th PZPR Congress, coincides with the desire of the broad masses. This makes it possible to begin and consolidate bonds and a broad dialogue with society, especially now that the martial law has been suspended. This is not an easy task, however, because moods of discontent still exist among working people, and the source of these moods is waste, poor management, social parasitism, speculation, and other processes of social pathology. The political opponent often exploits such moods. The principal task of the entire ideological front is to identify the dangers, explore effective means of influencing the minds and attitudes of people, and establish rational and emotional contact with the social forces standing on the ground of systemic and constitutional principles.

The province party organization in Krosno has recently acquired new experience owing to the reports-program campaign which resulted in: the restoration of the leading role and authority of the party in every community, the increase in the activity of PZPR members and candidate members, the strengthening of ideological and political cohesion, the deepening of bonds with the working class, and the strengthening of party, social and production discipline. Party organizations and echelons have emerged strengthened and more cohesive from this campaign. The working people support the current policy of the party and its leadership. They have supported the efforts to stabilize and normalize socio-political and economic life, and they accept the line toward a national agreement, the new solutions concerning the trade-union movement and the actions serving to extinguish anarchy and arbitrariness. And the meeting of society's expectations by the party is a condition for its credibility and restoration of trust.

In the immediate future--it was emphasized--the ideological-upbringing work of the province party organization will focus on the socialist upbringing of the youth. Comments by pupils during various discussions and in the classrooms often demonstrate distorted and deformed political and historical knowledge. inability to correlate events and processes and infer proper conclusions and rationally evaluate the mechanisms governing the country's life as well as to grasp the nature of political and economic solutions. This points to disunity of the educational front, diverging evaluations of events by the school and the home, and confusion among the youth. And yet in this province the 375 elementary schools and 128 supra-elementary schools employ more than 6,000 teachers and educators of whom 28 percent are party members--thus rich effects of political and ideological-upbringing work should have been expected. The performance of the party organizations at schools still has not been properly evaluated, although recently views and attitudes have become polarized. After 13 December 1981 22 teachers surrendered their party cards and 177 were removed or expelled from PZPR ranks. This served to purify the organizations of individuals who were passive or even represented hostile views.

Socialist education should also teach religious tolerance while at the same time preserving the principle of the separation of the Church and state and adherence to the principles of the Constitution of the PRL. Determining the responsibility of all party and non-party teachers and educators without exception for the patriotic and internationalist education of youth is now becoming a fundamental problem.

It was stressed that ideological-upbringing work is also influenced by the reading of the press and the work of the mass media and propaganda media. Among the various forms of agitation an important role is played by visual propaganda which, as examples prove, still leaves much to be desired, as well as by plant radio stations to which the Polish Radio Rzeszow recently extended its patronage. This warrants to some extent the premise that they will perform proper propaganda functions.

The need to enrich consciousness and political knowledge as the basic function of the Marxist-Leninist party requires intensified efforts to expand education and forms of party training.

The struggle for socialism in Poland--it was declared--means steady recruiting of adherents of the building of socialism and its constant strengthening. A chance for the consensus and cooperation of all soberly thinking Poles is provided by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). In the Krosno Province the idea of the PRON met with great response. The Province Provisional Council of the PRON as well as the 3 city, 8 city-gmina and 28 gmina elements of that movement, which combine the efforts of more than 8,000 activists and devoted civic-minded people have initiated many undertakings that win public favor.

The party--it was declared--displays, despite the decrease in its membership, growing activity, strengthens ideological-political unity and rebuilds its ties with working people and the working class. Party echelons and organizations are taking increasingly effective steps to consolidate public tranquility, improve the functioning of the economy and normalize our life. All this demonstrates the validity of the line adopted, providing arguments with which party members can reach the working people.

An important issue is that of regaining the leading role in the community by the basic party organizations (POP), which entails the need for an absolute adherence to the moral norms contained in the party statute.

The role of the party meeting as the main training base was pointed out. This is where the comrades should reason together. Party members should also be required to display more courage and more persistence in propaganda work.

Much attention was devoted to cultural centers, which play an important role in education. Unfortunately, plant and gmina cultural centers experience considerable financial and personnel problems. It was postulated, e.g that plant houses of culture be financed from the Vocational Activization Fund (FAZ) and the Jaslo Cultural Center be made an affiliate of the Province House of Culture (WDK).

Generalizations about the rising generation were criticized. It is true that the youth is not uniform in its world outlook, that it differs in its approaches to issues of work and ideology, and that its views vary greatly. But on the other hand, it displays great resourcefulness, independence and the desire to participate in the country's life. Most members of the Krosno work establishments which are weathering properly the crisis are, after all, young people. Noteworthy are the initiatives of, say, boy and girl scouts who hasten to offer daily help to the elderly or participate in drives such as "Cisna' 81."

Thus we should meet young people half-way, entrust them with responsible tasks and functions, not refrain from discussion, and encourage them to participate in trade unions and PRON and self-government elements.

The following took turns in the discussion: Karolina Wojtowicz, member of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and directress of the Basic Mining School (ZSG) in Biecz; Jan Idec, Krosno vice governor; Marek Smolinski, commander of the Krosno Chapter of the Polish Scouts Union (ZHP); Capt Krzysztof Jaworski, deputy commander of the province militia; Wieslaw Skalkowski, Province Committee member, director of the Regional Center for Party Work (ROPP); Jozef Ryba, secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the GAMRAT Plastics Works (ZTS) in Jaslo; Marian Kliszczewski, secretary of the PZPR committee at the Province Office, director of the Krosno WDK; Stanislaw Surowiec, Province Committee member, ROPP director in Lesk; Teresa Szczerba, secretary of the PZPR gmina committee and directress of the lyceum in Kolaczyce; Lidia Chodobrowska, secretary of the Krosno City PZPR Committee; Barbara Morawska, Province Committee member, secretary of the City-Gmina PZPR Committee in Ustrzyki Dolne; Wieslaw Boczar, director of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda under the PZPR Province Committee; Edward Sikorski, chairman of the Provisional City Council of the PRON in Sanok; Bronislaw Slaczka, vice inspector general of schools in Krosno; and Bohdan Jachacz, director of the Department of the Press, Radio and Television under the PZPR Central Committee.

The plenum of the PZPR Province Committee defined more precisely in its program of action and resolution the principal steps to be taken in ideological-political and upbringing work among the membership of the province party organization, PZPR echelons and organizations and the working people of the Subcarpathians.

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CSO: 2600/361

PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL REBIRTH ASSESSED

Provincial Chairmen in Discussion

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 21-22-23 Jan 83 p 3

[Interviews with PRON activists by members of DZIENNIK POLSKI: "The Rebirth Movement: Hopes and Doubts"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) at its session of 17 December 1982 formulated four main tasks to be fulfilled in the very near future: building a national consensus; active support of domestic peace and tranquility; restoration of Poland's proper place in the world, and activities serving to strengthen and expand the PRON. The implementation of these tasks requires not only extensive work but also political maturity and competence. The formulations, general as they are of necessity, will have to be translated into concrete language. We realize that the basic problem to be solved by this movement is to overcome the distrust of a large part of the public which regards the PRON as not quite an authentic organization but one conceived to support the measures of the authorities./

Hence we believe that it is necessary to elucidate what the PRON members and elements can and should do, and how, to alter this mistaken opinion and correct the misconceptions. Other questions to be answered are: what are the most effective ways of achieving the broadest possible and /authentic/ support of different occupational and social groups? What conclusions can be drawn from the activities of the citizen's committees for national rebirth (OKON) so far? Are there real chances that the PRON will be able within a relatively brief period of time to become, as postulated, "an autonomous self-governing community of citizens, an expression of organized public opinion"? How can the bureaucratization of this movement be avoided?/

/We asked these questions of activists from Provisional Province Councils (TRW) in seven provinces of southeastern Poland, whom we had invited for discussion to the Editorial Offices. They were:/

/Ryszard Zielinski, chairman of the TRW PRON in Krakow;
Feliks Leniart, vice chairman of the TRW PRON in Krosno;
Jan Turek, chairman of the TRW PRON in Nowy Sacz;
Jozef Petrzak, secretary of the TRW PRON in Tarnobrzeg;
Stanislaw Machniak, vice chairman of the TRW PRON in Rzeszow;
Jozef Galant, chairman of the TRW PRON in Przemysl;
Jan Kuczek, chairman of the TRW PRON in Tarnow./

/On the Editorial side the participants in the discussion
were: Ryszard Niemiec, Bruno Miecugow and Ryszard Dzieszynski./

Jan Kuczek: The fundamental task of our movement is to gain the public's trust in its activities. This must be done through meetings and dialogue: individual, group and mass. Only then will we be able to dissipate publicly the doubts nourished by the public. At such meetings the main item on the agenda should be the bold and open discussion of precisely the accusations (made by individuals or groups) which are fundamentally unsupported by convincing arguments. For example, the assertion that the PRON was established by the authorities requires sincere and genuine explanation.

Had only the party and the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) been the signatories of the July Appeal, the statement that this is a patriotic movement inspired only for political aims would be warranted. But the public is aware that the co-creators of the July Declaration also were secular Catholics. The three Catholic organizations had conceived the need for a national rebirth not suddenly on 20 July of last year. This idea had already been discussed within the Christian Social Association (ChSS), that is the group to which I belong, following the Radom events at a meeting convened in Radom in February 1980, following a debate in Podkowa Lesna, and two years later--on 23 June 1982 at a meeting with Jerzy Ozdowski we recalled that discussion. Comments by Catholic deputies contained major postulates subsequently included in the July Declaration.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Since we know how the PRON was formed and that this is an authentic movement, the question arises, how to convince the public of its authenticity?

Stanislaw Machniak: This exactly is a question concerning the principles of the movement's functioning over which I am losing sleep. It is good that this question was asked here. For if I am to be an activist in this movement, it is to be only when it is genuinely based on broad public support.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Some people draw analogies with the Non-Party Bloc for Co-operation With the Government (BBWR).

Jan Kuczek: This epithet has nothing in common with reality.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: But please understand that authenticity of the movement will not be assured even by the participation of Catholic organizations, nor even by known and respected names, but simply by concrete actions and concrete affirmation by the masses.

Jan Kuczek: True. In addition to the six signatories we need a seventh one-- the non-party members, the unassociated people, those standing aside and waiting. Why? Because Poland has many people who do not think for themselves but are influenced by various centers that are not necessarily friendly to it. We thus need to have in this movement as many non-party and unassociated members, people of moral authority, as possible.

Jozef Galant: If we are to win public trust, we must influence in many ways the consciousness of the public and the authorities and solve vital problems. This exactly is how we try to operate in Przemyśl. We visit work establishments and public organizations to talk about everyday life, without making a big thing of it. We exploit every occasion for a talk with co-workers and families.

We are being accused of low credibility and mistrust on the part of the public. Two factors could change this attitude: total commitment, the ability to rise to any occasion and pose authentic tasks to the movement; and the demonstration that the authorities are changing their mode of operation under our influence. Then the public will be able to say: they are doing something. We should avail ourselves of the right to think about many issues in a manner different from that of the authorities.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Can the movement afford this? Will it not be derailed into the wasteland of opposition, whereas it is supposed to promote national agreement?

Jozef Galant: I don't like the somewhat simplified propaganda concerning the PRON which causes the public to stand apart from it. Such propaganda focuses only on the achievements of the PRON. It should also publicize our failures, our problems, the lack of public notice. Many acquaintances have asked me: /What are you, a respected man, doing in that institution?/ It is suspected because it is being shown through glasses that are too rose-colored. But what is needed is simply to publicize our work, our efforts and toil, without the cake frosting.

Jan Turek: It is true that the public is reserved toward various public organizations and especially the PRON. What should be done to change this attitude to that movement? We have held 58 meetings as a charter group. Of the 167 persons invited to the inauguration of the TRW, 164 came plus 28 observers delegated by the work-forces of labor establishments. It so happened that half of the membership of our TRW are party members. We asked an explanation of those who designated them, considering that they are to represent us worthily. So that there must be authority whether one has a party card or not. Viewing them through the prism of belonging to one organization or another is simply a misconception. People will join the movement if they see what it is concretely accomplishing. The mechanism of decisionmaking in this plane also is important: this must be an extremely open forum for those who are not against us and wish to work with us. The range of the forms of activity of the PRON should be very broad and very open. Above all, local initiatives should be implemented.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Will the provisional nature of the current PRON affect adversely the foundations of public awareness?

Jan Turek: This provisional period indeed is too long. But let us return to questions of action. There is a need for concrete work with the communities, on doing what the residents consider necessary rather than imposing action.

Feliks Leniart: We in the Krosno Province ended the provisional period in the gminas and cities and also passed over from the stage of declarativeness, narration, and "nursing the idea" of the movement to the stage of concrete work. The best recipe for the durability and credibility of the movement is, of course, concrete work, the solution of specific problems. Here, the broad public is decisive. One danger to the movement is the insufficient understanding of its aims by its signatories at various levels. Thus, they must change their attitude toward the movement and, above all, we should stop dreading its successes. Authenticity is determined by the program. We proceed from the premise of engaging in a broad dialogue with the social groups whose support is most difficult to court, but—I repeat—with groups, ordinary people, not with the aktiv.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: In the very center of the unrest?

Feliks Leniart: Exactly. We also want to invite churchmen to participate in the movement and determine jointly problems of interest to us, for example, social pathology, charity assistance, etc. The encounter is being organized by Catholic activists. Secondly, we are preparing reports on issues important and sensitive to the public, e.g. on the market situation, with the data being gathered by the Chief Technical Organization (NOT), the Federation of Consumers, and the Association of Polish Accountants. We want to develop our own view of and attitude toward prices, the network of plant stores, and many other issues tied to the functioning of trade. Another issue that we raised is health care in schools. This matter is being jointly investigated by the Polish Red Cross, the Society of Children's Friends (TPD), the Polish Society of Physicians....

Jan Kuczek: Where do you get the funds for this?

Feliks Leniart: We receive funds from the budget of the Supreme Committee of the Front of National Unity (WK FJN), which has placed certain amounts at the disposal of the PRON.

Jozef Galant: In our [Przemysl Province] this would be difficult.

Feliks Leniart: We spend the monies only on technical matters, e.g. printing expenses. The studies are prepared by volunteers. Another issue is the attitude toward the FJN. The FJN has handled correctly certain matters. Here I refer to social reconciliation commissions, organization of public voluntary projects, and the activities of residents' self-governments. We consult the teams dealing with these problems. The next part of our activities is cooperation with the people's councils. We convene joint sessions. We have also strongly criticized the assumptions of the socio-economic plan. The joint sessions also serve our aim of setting up PRON structures in the gminas. We are organizing the PRON in the villages, by appointing rural councils. We would also like to help revive the activities of the OKON's, which recently have been growing somewhat moribund. We intend to convene a conference of the OKON's concerning their activities in work establishments so that they could find a niche for themselves. From this

ensues the general conclusion on the activities of our movement: the inspirations of the signatories and the forms of participation should be radically altered if we are to produce any social effects.

Stanislaw Machniak: You here are experienced and astute political activists. It is good that such people belong to the movement. But let us bear in mind that the source and authentic organs of the movement are precisely the OKON structures. This is a movement that is open to every citizen, precisely at the level of that basic committee? How was it conceived? Its genesis should be sought in the August protest of the public against deformations, a protest that had given birth to "Solidarity," which was taken over by the opponents of the system, and which should have precisely given birth to us.

The declaration of the PRON acknowledges the leading role of the party. Discussion of forms of socialism is not a task of our movement. We should instead discuss how socialism should be implemented and point to evils attendant in its implementation. That is why the building of this movement should be such that the PRON should be appointed by the OKONs as a service structure. But this engenders certain dangers. Why have the OKONs become stagnant? Because their activists moved upward to the main structures of the PRON and represent public organizations there. I don't agree either with Zbigniew Siatkowski, who believes that persons with encyclopedic names should play an exceptional role in this movement. Such a role should be constantly played by the OKONs. That is why our movement must gain public acceptance through the mediation of the OKONs rather than of representatives of particular organizations.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Who should attend the PRON Congress?

Stanislaw Machniak: Representatives of the OKONs.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: Can you accomplish it?

Stanislaw Machniak: This exactly is the problem. I believe that the congress should be attended by new people, with new faces and names.

Feliks Leniart: It is deplorable that officials were co-opted to the Presidium of the Tarnobrzeg PRON.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: And not only in Tarnobrzeg.

Jan Kuczek: [The PRON's] programs embrace too broad a range of issues, while at the same time the concrete problems to be solved are too few, for example, health protection. I believe that here we should proceed along the line TRK PRON--the Parliament and at the province level--TRW and the Province People's Council (WRN). In our province a meeting with the province governor lasted 8 hours. We touched upon a number of problems but ultimately we recognized that we should focus on the most important ones, e.g. construction. We listed subjective causes of shortcomings and want to meet with construction heads so as to exert social pressure on them. To this end, we try to gain an ally in the WRN. But as it turned out, of the seven postulates presented, the council commissions considered only one and half-way at that.

Jozef Pietrzak: In our province the PRON was formed on the basis of the FJN. The three signatories were reinforced by representatives of non-party members, Catholics and work establishments. We want to strengthen the impression we make, because we are aware that many of society's demands may die a natural death if no one attends to them. For the time being, we mediated the solution of conflicts in work establishments, with good effects at that. This has gained us some authority. We already have a program of action.

Currently we are working on elections to the PRON Congress. We believe that delegates should be elected neither in proportion to the number of inhabitants nor to the number of OKON members but to the number of local chapters. We believe that, although this is an open movement, it should be based on permanent structures if it is to endure. The issues we are working on at present include overcoming the attitudes of the so-called internal emigration in certain milieux, and organizing encounters with educational councils at schools and with the youth. We argue that, by remaining outside public life, they forfeit the possibility of influencing that life.

Stanislaw Machniak: I propose that this group meet again after some time. Let me invite you all to Rzeszow.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: We believe that this motion should be supported. But let us resolve another question at the present meeting. Let us propose the establishment of a Medal of Reconciliation, to be awarded to individuals active in our region (I refer to the seven provinces of southeastern Poland), and I invite you all here to be the founding members.

Ryszard Zielinski: It would be a medal for persons effectively engaging in public activity out of deep ideological convictions....I believe that this idea deserves acceptance.

Jozef Galant: Will not that be just another medal? We already have so many decorations being given out in Poland.

Ryszard Zielinski: Far from it! This medal will be of a significance totally different from that of all other decorations....Above all, it will represent genuine recognition by our movement of the person distinguished with that medal and will be a purely symbolic act.

Feliks Leniart: I believe that we can accept this proposal.

Jan Turek: I propose a meeting with PRON activists on the subject of our failures. The PRON pays insufficient attention to matters of the vexing type. If this proposal is accepted I would invite you all to Nowy Sacz.

Ryszard Zielinski: Will the PRON represent a new political quality or just a pro-government organization? This is perhaps one of the most important aspects of the problem of our social identity.

DZIENNIK POLSKI: There is a multitude of issues for discussion. We expect to continue the discussion of PRON-related issues in various forms in our newspaper, and hence we request various kinds of materials which we shall try to utilize.

National Understanding of Rebirth

Warsaw DZIENNIK LUDOWY in Polish 21 Jan 83 p 9

[Interview with Walenty Milenuszkin, chairman of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON in Gdansk, by Elzbieta Rowinska: "On the Coast We Are United by the Sea: Through Understanding Toward Rebirth"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in source]

[Text] /Walenty Milenuszkin's life has been tied to the Tri-City [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] for nearly half a century. He had left it only in wartime, when he served in the Navy. He had sailed on, among others, the destroyer GARLAND [ship of the Polish Republic (ORP)] and the submarine SOKOL./

/Soon after the war had ended, he returned to the Coast. For many years he had been the youngest captain in the fleet of the Polish Steamship Lines (PLO). His name is also known to readers favoring literature on the sea. His books "Wybierac kotwice" [Hoist the Anchor] and "Kapitanowie na piasku" [Captains on Sand] describe wartime and sea experiences./

/Since August 1982 Captain of Deep-Sea Navigation Walenty Milenuszkin has been chairman of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON in Gdansk./

[Question] You undertook to work in behalf of the national agreement at a time when society wonders what can we expect? What are the specific plans and intentions of your movement?

[Answer] We began to act only a few months ago. Thus the organizational, founding stage still continues. At the moment it would be difficult to speak of any great accomplishments. We do not think of slogans and phrases; we do not want to make big promises. Mistakes should not be repeated. We do not wish to drown everything in euphoria and emotions, in words not covered by deeds. For success is not decided by discrete actions performed on the principle of hurrah-patriotism but by systematic, rational daily action.

We don't set ourselves tasks exceeding our possibilities. In addition to solving everyday human problems, sometimes trivial but important, we would like to focus our efforts on sea-oriented issues. We believe that we should influence certain measures taken by the government and have the right to revise regulations relating to the fleet, the maritime economy, marine schools and environmental protection.

We also would like to devote maximum attention to the problems of upbringing the youth so that precisely it would not stand aside and behave like a passive recipient to whom everything is due. Our aim is to include the largest possible number of young people in active participation in the great cause of moral and national renewal.

[Question] Your area of activities is specific. After all, this is the region where "Solidarity" was born, which to this day has many sympathizers. To what extent have PRON activists succeeded in gaining public approval and breaking through the barrier of passivity and mistrust?

[Answer] It appears that we have learned a lot here on the Coast in the past year. It turned out that we can go rapidly and far by patience and day-by-day work. This already is half the agreement. What is important is that we haven't listened to those prophets who drew us toward fratricidal slaughter. Let us speak realistically. Not everyone agrees with what the authorities and the PRON are doing, but they also are resolutely opposed to anarchy, hooliganism and street fights. This in itself is another big step forward--because now we can sit down for discussion at the same table.

Not everyone trusts us. But I believe this to be a matter of time. The PRON did not arise from nowhere and is not an artificial creation. We are, as we say here on the Coast, "people of the sea and from the sea"; we represent part of this large public. Hence it is much easier to find a common language, to reach agreement with our colleagues from the dockyards and work establishments.

We do not keep an exact list of PRON members; we are not formalized. At any rate many people have started to act in behalf of the agreement--many more than could have been expected. The Province PRON Council maintains cells in all administrative units, in all parts of the Tri-City, and in most multi-service establishments, such as the PLO and the large industrial plants inclusive of the Lenin and Paris Commune shipyards.

Although we are a hierarchically superior organization as the Province Council, we "serve" as it were our local cells. As known, people know thoroughly their own work establishments, their community, know best what matters are most urgent and what can be postponed. Hence we adopted the iron principle of not imposing or ordering anything from the top down. For the principal basis of activities of the PRON should be precisely the initiatives coming from the bottom up, that is, from its local chapters. Our task is only to advise and consult. It is besides comprised in our name. For we have defined ourselves as a consultation-and-program council. I believe that only thus can we succeed in overcoming the barrier of passivity and mistrust.

[Question] For several months now you have exercised the responsible and difficult functions of the chairman of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON in Gdansk. What made you decide on taking this position?

[Answer] I am a man of the sea, like most PRON activists in Gdansk. My years of sea service in this country and abroad have been such that I could never tolerate idleness. Men of the sea are clearly aware that danger must be faced and confronted. We know that one cannot and should not sit idly by, despair and wait until the situation resolves of itself. During a gale one must act to protect the safety of oneself and others and save the entrusted property.

That is why we see no reason why we should stand aside, looking insulted, and wait for "something" to happen without our participation. In life it is like being on the sea: we pay ourselves for all mistakes, we are personally responsible for lack of common sense and deliberation.

[Question] Do you think that there exist premises on whose basis it is possible even now to determine how long will it take to reach the agreement?

[Answer] We talked with many people from various milieux and listened to their pretensions, grievances and opinions. From these discussions emerges a certain

picture of the public mood. Even now it can be said that our society is acquiring increasingly realistic views. Nearly everyone already realizes that we will get nothing for free and we must work ourselves for the so-called "better future." At the same time, we wish, justly at that, have automatic dishwashers, color television and at least a compact car parked outside, let alone an apartment of our own.

This is exactly where the West comes in. The United States and the sanctions applied are the latest lesson in modern realism. A lesson which has convinced many and is like a cold compress on fevered heads. We learned a good lesson. Some are only now beginning to understand that we are neither a particularly loved nation nor the conscience of the world. And again it turned out, as so many times before in our history, that we can rely only on our own efforts and on the help of true and tested friends.

It is difficult to say how long will the process of national reconciliation still last. Patriotic rebirth is after all a form of modern Polish renaissance which manifests itself in a new view of the world and of one's own place in it. Similarly, centuries ago, men of the Renaissance could not have anticipated how long it would develop.

Increased Social Support

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by (sna): "PRON as the Plane for a Credible Dialogue"]

[Text] /(OWN INFORMATION) The idea of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is meeting with growing public support. The movement is more and more universally regarded as a plane for a credible dialogue and cooperation between citizens and representatives of the authorities and representative bodies./
[printed in boldface]

It should be borne in mind that the PRON is a living movement that at the same time searches for a place in Polish political life, as well as for effective forms and methods of influencing every milieu. Despite the brief period of its existence so far, the movement for national rebirth has already passed through several stages of development. Its incipient stage is linked to the birth of the citizens' committees for national salvation, formed shortly after the martial law was declared, in a grassroots and spontaneous form and as an expression of the concern of many citizens for the future fate of the state and for strengthening the then weakened structures of the state and renewing all forms of economic activity. The second stage coincided with the period following the declaration made by three parties and three associations of Catholics and Christians in July 1982.

At its current stage of development the PRON's aim is to convert from a provisional to a stable movement and consolidate its position as a permanent factor in Polish public and political life. This period will be filled by preparations for the PROM Congress which is to be held in the first half of 1983.

The rebuilding of social bonds is markedly promoted by local chapters of the PRON which initiate and undertake primarily actions serving to meet the housing, economic and social-consumer needs of the population. The operations by the movement's activists contribute not only to alleviating or solving many everyday problems of the population but also to broaden the rising public support for the PRON program.

Currently more than 140 OKONs and 17 provisional city, gmina and plant PRON councils including the province council in Lublin, operate actively and broadly in the Lublin province. Gmina PRON councils operate in, among others, Jozefow, Karczmiski, Laziski, Wilkow, Wojciechow, Urzedowo, Wilkolaz, Dzierzkowice, Borzechowo, Ryki and Kazimierz Dolny. City PRON councils operate in Pulawy and, more recently, Lublin. Both the OKONs and the PRON associate representatives of varied milieux, occupations, religious persuasions, and political orientations.

The most often exchangeable forms of activity common in principle to all chapters of the movement for national rebirth include the initiation of public drives, care for families living under difficult conditions, disabled war veterans, lonely and sick people; activities promoting the intensification of industrial and agricultural production; participation of PRON activists in groups combatting speculation and supervising a just distribution of agricultural equipment, building materials, housing, etc. PRON activists also undertake work on other problems raised by enterprise work-forces and the population of settlements, cities and gminas.

The Provisional Province Council of the PRON in Lublin initiated the interesting project of conducting a cycle of lectures on the topic "Who Are We as a Nation?" It will be organized in cooperation with the Lublin Historical Society. The first in this series of lectures will be given on 27 January of this year.

Social Organizations in National Understanding

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (a): "Public Organizations and the Movement for National Understanding"]

[Text] /"Motivated by anxiety and concern for the creative development of every individual, as well as for the future of the entire nation and the need to consolidate and bring into order the activities of our organizations, perceiving the necessity of summing up our intellectual, moral and political activities, educating a society conscious of its distinctiveness and statehood ambitions and of forming a united ideological front, we meet here today at the first session of its kind," with these words Jadwiga Rudzinska-Patejuk, the chairperson of the Province Board of the League of Polish Women, inaugurated the joint plenary deliberations of the province boards of the Society for Universal Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture, The Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and the League of Polish Women, held last Saturday in Bialystok./ [printed in boldface]

The topic of the session was the role and place of public organizations in shaping the premises for the national agreement. The participants included: Prof Marian Szamatowicz, chairman of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON; Mikolaj Kozak, secretary of the PZPR Province Committee; Stanisław Kudla, chairman of the WK FJN; representatives of the ZSL Supreme Committee and the SD Province committee; Prof Stefan Soszka, chairman of the Province Board of the Society for Universal Knowledge; Governor Kazimierz Dunaj, chairman of the Governing Board for the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society; and Dr Zenon Herba, chairman of the Governing Board of the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture.

Prof Marian Szamatowicz presented the aims and tasks of the PRON. He emphasized that this movement is open to everybody. Representatives of discrete organizations defined their role and place in the PRON and spoke of common goals and the need to coordinate actions. Dr Zenon Herba cited the example of the first attempts of this kind: certain Regional Party Work Centers had initiated meetings of representatives of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the Society for Universal Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture with the object of discussing a joint ideological-upbringing front. It turned out that these societies have the same aktiv and often the same modes of operation in the same communities. Thus coordination is indispensable.

The participants in the discussion included the activists of not only the organizations convening the joint session but also scientific and medical societies and the Society of Children's Friends (TPD), which also expressed their commitment to the PRON. During the deliberations the formation of a commission for coordinating the activities of public organizations under the PRON Provisional Province Council was proposed.

Toward the end of the session a resolution was adopted, stating, among other things:

"Our organizations are an important element of the ideological-upbringing system in the socialist society. A basic and common aim for us all in action is to unite the efforts to lead the country out of the socio-economic crisis with the object of rehabilitating the Republic and bringing about a moral renewal of the nation through the consolidation of socialist ideals and values in the consciousness and practices of society.

"Appreciating fully the idea and tasks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, we declare our active participation in providing the conditions for its growth in all social groups and occupational milieux in whose behalf we are active.

"We call upon all members of our organizations to strengthen local chapters of the PRON by their active occupational and civic attitude and personal commitment.

"We appeal to public organizations and scientific societies, and especially to ideological-upbringing youth organizations, for support and an active creation of conditions for spreading the idea of the agreement among the rising generation--the future of our nation.

"We appeal to the Bialystok intelligentsia, scientists, educators, creative artists and animators of culture and all those concerned for the welfare of our nation and socialist fatherland for broad support of and active participation in the movement for national rebirth."

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CSO: 2600/370

GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Plenary Deliberations on Reports Conference

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by: (mag)]

[Text] Yesterday [24 January 1983] a plenary meeting of the Voivodship Committee [KW] in Gdansk was held under the chairmanship of candidate member of the Politburo, PZPR KW first secretary Stanislaw Bejger. Representatives of the central party authorities, including deputy director of the CC [Central Committee] Economic Department Ryszard Hutterski, also took part.

The plenum was of an organizational nature and was tied in with preparations for the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference to be held in Gdansk on 5 February 1983. There were two items on the agenda: the discussion and confirmation of materials for the conference and the approval of changes in the organizational code of regulations of the voivodship party echelon.

During the discussion, meeting participants expressed their views on the content and manner of presentation of the material contained in the KW report for the Reports Conference. The prevailing view was that the extensive report draft had been prepared carefully and comprehensively, encompassing the totality of the work of the organization since the Eighth Reports-Elections Conference. After making several minor changes of a formal nature, relating to the work of the Voivodship Revision Commission and the KW issues commissions, the plenum accepted the report of the PZPR KW in Gdansk and approved the concept underlying the voivodship conference deliberations.

According to Comrade Bejger, the Voivodship Reports Conference decidedly will be a working conference. In addition to their participation in plenary deliberations, delegates will work in four groups that will work with intra-party issues, socioeconomic issues, ideological-propaganda issues and educational-upbringing and cultural issues. In addition to the participation of conference delegates, there will also be the participation of several hundred invited party activists--the secretaries of basic and district organizations, the secretaries of party group organizations and the members

of KW issues commissions. This will create a broad forum for summarizing experiences and for preparing the directions of future activities of the voivodship party organization among the various elements and at the various organizational levels.

Further on in the meeting, the plenum approved changes in the organizational structure of the KW in Gdansk. In place of the former Social Policy Department, an Economic Department will be set up, and the Maritime Management Department will be transformed into the Maritime and Transport Department. These changes were dictated by the need to integrate further the political-organizational activity of the voivodship echelon in the area of putting the economic reform into practice and creating the proper cadre and financial policy on the voivodship scale. Formerly, several KW departments handled these areas. Their reorganization is linked with cadre changes in the makeup of the permanent KW apparatus.

The plenum also approved the candidacy of Comrade Anna Szalach for the position of director of the KW Information Center for the Analyses and Programing of Party Work. She is currently the deputy director of that center.

Important Party Matters

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Wlodzimierz Wodecki]

[Text] On Saturday, 5 February 1983, the Voivodship Reports Conference of the PZPR will deliberate in Gdansk. In such cases it is customary to write that a summarization will be made of the reports campaign that was held throughout all party organizational elements. I believe, however, that the term "campaign" here is a misnomer, since it was not a campaign at all, but a series of longterm activities. The Voivodship Reports Conference is merely one stage in these activities, which involved varying degrees of effort. While the conference is an important stage, it is only a stage, initiated by the increased political activism that occurred even before the Ninth PZPR Congress. The share of the representation of the Gdansk organization in the work of the congress itself was impressive; the vital activities of this organization during the difficult period politically that followed the Ninth Party Congress were likewise significant. Thus, this is not a campaign, but, I would say, organic work from the foundations up to maintain unity of action, to consolidate party ranks and, perhaps the most difficult goal, to win society's confidence and approval.

The Gdansk organization is not in the best position to achieve these difficult goals. Many comrades have not withstood social pressure. They have fallen away and have returned their party membership cards. Some of these people had various motives in joining the party, the least of which was ideological commitment. During the difficult political period they left, choosing to do so.

Today as well, as was stressed at the December KW plenum, "it is especially difficult to be a party member. Each of us individually bears the burden of the problems of everyday life, helps to break down barriers, to put into practice the changes initiated by the party to revitalize our existence, the existence of our homeland. As we do this, sometimes we still encounter the obstacles of mistrust, slander and even harassment."

The party ranks included those comrades who were not able to perceive what was going on in Poland. They restricted their vision to current problems and troubles and lost their perspective. That is why the party voivodship organization emerged from this difficult period with a reduced membership that declined from more than 102,000 members at the end of December 1981 to over 78,000 members at the end of 1982. However, the membership of the Gdansk organization continues to be nearly half workers and peasants; its ranks continue to include young people, full of hope for the future. During Poland's difficult period last year, 182 comrades joined the party. It is noteworthy that these were young workers, for the most part. This unspectacular fact hides an important point: it implies a renewal of the party's position. But it is only a weak sign and much effort will be needed to ensure that this trend of the party's strengthening continues and develops still more rapidly. It is evident that the departure of those who were casually connected to the party has not weakened its ability to act. On the contrary, during the reports campaign, the ideological-political cohesiveness of the PZPR became stronger.

The period of preparation for the voivodship conference also evinced this fact. The deciding vote during the campaign was held and is still held by the delegates from the previous party conference and congress--in accordance with the democratic provisions of the Ninth Congress--who have retained their mandates. As resolved by the delegates, and in accordance with the PZPR Statute, the materials for the conference--the basic party documents outlining activities for the coming period--were consulted on in 11 party regions. The consultative meetings were held on 27 and 28 January 1983. These were not polite, courteous meetings but difficult, heated sessions, real party discussions about matters of greatest importance to the organization.

On Saturday, 5 February 1983, the delegates who hold the mandates from their organizations will assemble for the voivodship conference to prepare the final documents that will bind the members of the Gdansk party organization. Approximately 500 party activists, of whom the majority are delegates, or about one-third of all those invited to participate in the deliberations, are party members who specialize in specific fields of our life. These will plan out the directions of activity. They will work in four teams: intraparty issues, socioeconomic issues, ideological-propaganda and educational-upbringing issues and cultural issues.

In addition to drawing on their own opinions and the knowledge they have gained in practice, participants in the deliberations have received materials that include the report of the PZPR KW in Gdansk. This report synthesizes a wealth of knowledge on all aspects of voivodship life, and particularly on the party, its activities and successes and its failures as well. All of

this will serve as raw material for discussion, which we hope will be constructive.

The conference is an important event in the second stage of the work of the Gdansk organization to regain society's acceptance. It must and should yield concrete results, results that will be measurable in the actions of basic organizations and in the political attitudes of every PZPR member.

Words uttered at the December plenary meetings of the PZPR KW in Gdansk are relevant here: "Through our methods and our political means, we must ensure social calm, the normal rhythm of factory work and gradual progress in isolating political opponents. The cohesiveness of our ranks and our disciplined action will be the decisive factors in the effectiveness of the impact of the OOP [District Party Organization] and POP [Basic Party Organization]. While continuing to use persuasion to regain every member to active work in the party, particularly workers and peasants, at the same time we must be explicit about increasing the demands on all members, especially the party apparatus and aktiv, on members of the party authorities and on party members in leadership positions..."

Let me add that this is especially so since difficult work awaits us in putting into practice the resolutions of our party. Of these, economic reform, with its far-reaching social and economic consequences, stands with intraparty affairs as the crucial problem for the entire country and society.

Final Preparations for Reports Conference

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4-5-6 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] During yesterday's [3 February 1983] meeting, the PZPR KW Executive Board in Gdansk approved the final version of a report for the Voivodship Reports Conference and discussed a number of organizational issues related to ensuring the smooth running of this debate, in which several hundred delegates and invited guests will take part.

Next the board heard a report on the organization and activity of the self-governing body of residents of Gdansk voivodship housing developments. Thirty-nine self-governing bodies operate in all cooperative developments, joining together the work of 730 housing cooperative activists. The quality and effectiveness of the work of the particular self-governments is determined by the people who come to them. These people will enable the cooperative self-governing bodies to make full use of the powers to which they are entitled by law in undertaking and resolving effectively the daily affairs of the residents of cooperative developments. The Executive Board pointed out the need to expand and deepen cooperation between the residents of housing developments and the communal buildings administration in order to resolve jointly the needs of residents of a development or a district.

Next the Executive Board familiarized itself with and approved a program of publishing activity of the KW Propaganda Department. The board noted the need to streamline the intraparty circulation of printed materials in order to reach the broadest possible circles of party members.

Party Strength

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4-5-6 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by: now]

[Text] The reports campaign in the Gdansk voivodship is nearing its conclusion. Not only was it the sort of free exchange of ideas that is vital to every Marxist-Leninist party, but it was also a rigorous evaluation of our work thus far: both our achievements and our mistakes. Lenin wrote: "Self-criticism is absolutely essential for every living and vital party. There is nothing more trivial than self-satisfied optimism."

The observance of one of the basic principles of the communist party, the principle of democratic centralism, is a condition necessary for its proper functioning. At the same time, democratic centralism involves a sort of feedback between party authorities and the party's member masses. The feedback must work at both ends if basic political and social goals are to be achieved. Effective feedback is the most powerful element of so-called self-regulation, preventing various types of deviations from occurring.

Party meetings serve these ends, as does the current reports campaign. The campaign is assessing the work of all party elements at exactly the halfway point of the present term. It is a term that has been replete with experience, but difficult and abounding in danger.

The Ninth Congress motivated the entire party. Its crucial significance coincided with the period of severe and ruthless political battle. Some party members did not endure this battle. Those who treated their party membership card as a ticket to a career were forced to leave its ranks.

The declaration of martial law on 13 December 1981 put a stop to the further anarchy of sociopolitical life. It halted the advancing disintegration of the national economy. It likewise made society aware of the mechanisms of the political game being played out in the international arena, in which Poland and its People were to become the helpless tool of imperialism in its struggle to regain worldwide supremacy.

The road of the Gdansk party organization was rough and hard. However, the party's strength lay in its program whose name of socialism, meaning social equality and justice, once again became the element cementing its ranks. The Voivodship Reports Conference ought to provide an answer to this question: To what extent has this been accomplished, and how much remains to be done?

The Executive Board report and the discussion will answer this question. Discussions will take place both during plenary deliberations and in the four issues groups. The first group will consider how to strengthen the status and authority of basic district party organizations. Let us add that these are the major elements of the PZPR, and that the proper functioning of the entire party depends upon their operational efficiency. As the leading force in our society, the party has assumed the burden of responsibility for the

success of the economic reform and for leading the country out of the crisis. The discussion in the next issues group will be devoted to these matters. The other groups will discuss ideological-propaganda issues and educational-upbringing and cultural issues.

The deliberations will set down short-range and long-range tasks in a concrete program that can be read by those outside the party as well. It is a program that is being structured to serve the entire society of the Gdansk voivodship.

Attitudes of Party Members

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4-5-6 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Antoni Synoracki, member of the PZPR KW Executive Board in Gdansk by Henryk Nowaczyk; date and place not given]

[Text] Antoni Synoracki has worked for many years for the Port Authority in Gdynia. He is a delegate to the Voivodship Reports Conference of the PZPR in Gdansk. He represents Gdynia dockworkers.

[Question] Perhaps we can talk a little about the past first.

[Answer] I began to work at the Gdynia port in 1961. Prior to that I was employed at the Sopot Presidium of the Municipal People's Council. But I did not like working as an official.

Everyone knows that dock work has its own special calling, like the work of a sailor. One has only to be bitten by the bug.

[Question] Was dock work tied in with active social and political work for you?

[Answer] I joined the party when I was in the service, in 1955. I was first elected a party group leader in 1965. I think that my colleagues appreciated my uncompromising way of settling human affairs. I simply believed that the purpose of the party was to serve working people. And that is how my work got started.

[Question] I understand that you were then elected to other positions.

[Answer] Yes. I was next elected first secretary of the District Party Organization in Transshipping Region No 2. I held this position for two successive terms. There there was a hiatus of 5 years. I believed that one should not fulfill the same social functions for too long a time. A man begins to feather his nest in spite of himself and forgets where he came from.

[Question] The fact that one is a rank-and-file member does not mean that he is inactive.

[Answer] Obviously. These are two entirely different issues. The proof is that while I had this attitude, I merited the trust of my comrades. In 1979, I was again elected first secretary of the OOP [District Party Organization]. I likewise became a delegate to the City Reports-Elections Conference in Gdynia, where I was chosen to be a delegate to the voivodship conference, a mandate I still hold.

[Question] This is above all a vote of confidence, so very important during this difficult and complex period.

[Answer] I try not to betray this trust. It is an idea that may be generalized to the entire party. I have in mind above all serving society in the name of truth and justice. This is basic both to the party's leadership role and its leading role as well. The program of the Ninth PZPR Congress and of the subsequent plenary meetings both of the Central Committee and the KW expresses this. However, an especially crucial issue is the implementation of these resolutions by all levels of the element, and above all by basic party organizations.

[Question] The implementation has been uneven. I believe that the observance of the statutory norms and of the principles of the Marxist-Leninist party is basic to proper action. Every departure from this breeds deformation. The past has supplied us with too many examples of this.

[Answer] Currently, society identifies members of the leadership with the entire party. But one must view the party as a whole. The disclosure in recent years of improper attitudes, even at the highest leadership levels, is not a sign of weakness--as our enemies and opponents charge--but of strength. This strength is our highest goal: social justice and progress. The party has no other objectives but the welfare and defense of the interests of the class it represents.

[Question] The party is the working class avantgarde. How can we express this maxim in everyday language?

[Answer] It is essential that the party regain its credibility in society. The party's program serves this end. This program may be defined succinctly as a program serving the vital interests of working people. We must admit openly that our political opponents have attempted to win society over with our slogans. It is agreed that after the Eighth Congress we did not succeed in carrying them out. In my opinion, our biggest mistake was our sluggishness in implementing the provisions of that congress.

[Question] The last period, that of 1980-1981, was a difficult test for the entire party, for all its members.

[Answer] First one must note the frustration of views and internal indecision. On the one hand, our political opponents were responsible for the mental havoc. On the other, what happened in the party led to it, and that certainly could have been avoided. Many of us observed at meetings and conferences that the leadership's alienation from those who belonged to party masses

foreshadowed the crisis that was rapidly approaching--not only an economic crisis, but a moral crisis above all.

[Question] It may be said that today's party is different from the party of the past.

[Answer] The Ninth Congress explicitly outlined a self-regulatory mechanism. Perhaps for the first time in history, the party so openly and uncompromisingly laid bare the defects of those who led its structures. Then it was able to draw constructive conclusions from this that were implemented with ironclad consistency in spite of the rough path the country must tread.

We continue to moderate the consequences of the crisis that is penetrating all areas of our existence. In my opinion, this process is progressing in the right way.

[Question] The party sets great store in the discipline of its members.

[Answer] That is the basis of the party's proper operation. Special emphasis is being placed upon discipline because of the gravity of the moment and the severity of the political struggle. Of course, the observance of this principle must be treated in conjunction with the principle of democratic centralism and statutory norms. However, I stress once again that we need discipline especially now.

[Question] However, it does not encroach upon the sphere of speaking openly at party meetings.

[Answer] The purpose of the meeting is to enable every member to express his opinion. Criticism and self-criticism are as necessary for the party as air. We constantly return to the problem of who is to blame for the crisis. But all the passive and uncritical rank-and-file members who did not make use of the opportunity afforded by the party meeting are also to blame--those who did nothing but applaud all the time.

[Question] This interview precedes the Voivodship Reports Conference. In your opinion, what issues ought to be discussed during its deliberations?

[Answer] I plan to take part in the discussion of the issues group that will cover issues of science, education and upbringing.

[Question] Why will you be in this group and not in the ideological group, the intraparty group or the economic group?

[Answer] The discussion in each of these groups will have weighty significance. Our goal is socialism, which must include the socialist upbringing of the younger generation. Our successors must be adequately prepared. We cannot allow the process of our socialist development to be disrupted. Therefore, the school has special obligations in the molding of the views and attitudes of the younger generation. People who are deeply convinced of the rightness of the party's actions are indispensable to the implementation of our society's socialist renewal.

[Question] The conference will assess the work of the party and all of its elements midway through the present term.

[Answer] It will be a severe, but just evaluation. The First Voivodship Ideological Conference, held last year, was the first stage in this assessment.

I believe, however, that the conference's most important task will be the preparation of a program to serve the entire society of the Coast.

The conference resolution will provide the guidelines. The implementation of the resolution, however, will depend on the work of all party elements, above all, its basic elements. Every party member must be aware of this.

Much arduous work awaits us. Life itself will determine whether our program is the right one. Once again I should like to stress that our party serves the working class, its serves society.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

Party Authority in Activities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 4 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by H. Bykowska, A. Jaszowska, A. Metlewicz, Z. Niemcewicz and M. Pruski]

[Text] The reports campaign in the Gdansk voivodship has ended. Party organizations and echelons have summarized and evaluated their work thus far and they have laid out the guidelines of party work for the second half of the current term.

The period that has elapsed since the Eighth Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference will no doubt have a special place in the chronicles of the work of the Gdansk party organization. It was a time of struggle with our political opponents, who worked especially actively in our area, a time of humiliation and bitterness for many party comrades, but also a time for squaring our shoulders and getting back on our feet.

It was also a time of qualitative change within the organization itself. There was a return to the Leninist standards of intraparty life. Casual members and members who were alien ideologically left the party. The style and operating methods of the voivodship authorities and particular party elements changed. The statement that "It is the same party, but not the same kind of party" was corroborated in everyday practice.

The implementation of the ambitious program of socialist renewal was initiated. The guidelines for this program were established by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR and the program was expressed in the form of resolutions passed at subsequent plenary meetings of the CC and the voivodship echelon. The social and economic changes that are now taking place in our region are the result of the implementation of these resolutions. The sociopolitical situation in the voivodship is stabilizing. The implementation of new economic mechanisms is continuing, if not without difficulties. The recommendations and proposals made during reports meetings and conferences should streamline and hasten these processes.

We spoke with representatives of the coastal party aktiv who represent various social and occupational elements on the progress of the campaign and problems discussed during it.

[Tadeusz Stachowiak, first secretary of the OOP in the hull pretreatment department at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia:]

The fundamental purpose of the reports campaign in our party organization was to summarize work since the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress against the background of the sociopolitical situation of the period. We isolated two periods separated by the martial law decree on 13 December 1981.

Despite the fact that the Ninth Congress outlined a concrete program of reform and renewal, we were not able to pull ourselves together. As someone said quite aptly, we had been flattened by a powerful roller and could not catch our breath. The political struggle was very severe. Nearly 20 members from our organization turned in their party membership cards.

From the time that martial law was declared until the end of the reports period, the unfulfilled tasks in party work began to grow. As you recall, the activity of trade unions, employee self-governments and many social organizations was suspended. We had our hands full. We were busy settling social matters, matters of daily living and the like. We had to carry on the indispensable discussions with people, to come to their aid. Of necessity party affairs receded into the background. We could not count solely on the help of the social commission, which was already greatly strained. Today we take great satisfaction from the help we gave to people.

The program outlined during the reports campaign takes into account the need to eliminate the unfulfilled tasks that have arisen in party work. The level of party training must be improved. We must disseminate honest information about the party and about contemporary sociopolitical life in defiance of our political opponents.

Two other equally important goals outlined in the reports campaign relate to our share in the creation of employee self-governments and trade unions. I should not like it to be said that I alone am trying to create a trade union and a self-governing body. The members of our organization are in the trade union initiating group. They are likewise interested in self-government activity. They will certainly work together with independents to establish a union and create a self-government. And if a trade union and self-government are created, we will be able to handle party matters exclusively, to make our organization resilient and strong.

[Jerzy Kandlowski--OOP secretary in the repair department of the PREDOM-METRIX Mechanized Household Appliance Plant in Tczew:]

During the reports period, the party organization in our department worked without serious disruptions. The PZPR Plant Committee Executive Board recognized it as one of the most energetic OOP's of the nine in our plant. We held regular meetings marked by very good attendance. We organized several open party meetings. We attached much importance to this type of meeting, since we were anxious to cement ties with the entire workforce. For example, there was a great deal of interest in the open meeting held on the shape to be taken by the new trade unions. The discussion on the future model of the union movement at this meeting was very lively.

We were also anxious to cement ties with the particular members of our organization. We held many private conversations with individual comrades who are too timid to speak out at meetings in order to talk honestly and openly with them.

We felt it indispensable to sum up at meetings with specific recommendations that were implemented and carefully accounted for. For example, the January meeting closed with the designation of a specific task. We appointed a team of several persons to streamline the preparation of a system of new initiation procedures.

Here I should like to explain that our department has taken on a significant part of the work associated with going into the production of fertilizer spreaders. In spite of the fact that the period for setting production into motion has been extremely short, many related issues remain to be settled. We will seek specific ways of improving production in this area.

Another tremendously important task outlined in the reports campaign is concern over the quality of our organization. We recognize that it is essential that the members of our organization give an example to others through their attitude and commitment. An equally important task is the creation of the proper atmosphere for the rebirth of the union movement. We do not want our members to direct the matter of creating the trade union, but to join the union movement actively together with independents. And, as we know, the trade union is indispensable for protecting the interests of working people.

[Edward Winiarz--first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Northern DOKP (District Directorate of State Railroads):]

The special characteristic of our party organization is that it joins together the employees of the DOKP central office. They are mainly white-collar workers, many of whom hold management positions. The DOKP is a sort of brain responsible for the proper operation of the work of the railroad system in one of the largest areas in the country. That is why now and in the past we have attached much importance to the formation of the proper attitudes among party members and to their professional and civic responsibility. Here it must be said that railroad workers demonstrated a responsible attitude even during the difficult 1980-1981 period. They performed their tasks to the best of their ability, given the possibilities of the moment. There were no disruptions due to strikes on the railroads. This is to the credit of both our party organization and the personal example of our comrades. That is not to say that things are ideal here. We see the urgent need to stimulate radically the work of party groups. We have discovered that if party work is to be effective, it cannot be based upon a small aktiv, but must be founded upon party groups that exist within a particular community and have the greatest potential for making an impact. The party's authority must be built from the foundations, not from above. Party groups are this foundation.

I include among the most critical tasks of our party organization actions taken to satisfy important employee needs in the area of social services, wages and working conditions. When the trade unions were suspended, their tasks fell primarily upon the party organization. Now we have a trade union that is supposed to take up these problems. There are many areas of neglect that have accumulated over the years. For example, we anxiously await the implementation of the draft of a new wage system for the railroads. The proposed system was consulted upon with workforces and was accepted by the secretaries of plant committees in a meeting at the Ministry of Transportation.

We are grappling with the work clothing shortage, especially the shortage of felt boots coated with rubber and the shortage of personal hygiene articles. We are trying to see that these articles are distributed fairly at the voivodship level. Ostensibly these are minor problems, but they are very important to people, and so we cannot be indifferent to them.

[Jozef Kazmierczak--first secretary of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Przywidz:]

One of the most important recommendations emanating from the reports campaign is the need to strengthen further the party's ties with the community. In practice this means that the Gmina Committee and our basic party organizations must be sensitive to all of the people's needs and problems and must try to resolve them. Here are some concrete examples. One of the most important problems in the gmina of Przywidz is supplying rural inhabitants with water. The shortage of drinking water both for people and farm animals creates an obstacle to the development of hog and cattle raising. Farmers are wasting a great deal of time and effort transporting water from a lake several kilometers away.

We partly solved this problem in the village of Pomlewo, where equipment was installed at a deep-water well located at the school, enabling water to be drawn for the entire village. We are working on having a village waterworks built in the next few years. Soon the water supply for the village of Jodlowno will improve, but village residents will have to work on getting a waterworks built, since the gmina does not have enough funds.

We are trying to push ahead with the issue of land reclamation in the gmina. The documentation is ready and we are now looking for a possibility to implement this project.

The housing problem, especially for teachers, is one of our most important problems. Two school buildings are being renovated to provide six apartments for teachers. This does not resolve the problem however, and we are working on having two new apartment complexes built. In a few years, this problem should be solved.

Residents come to us with various complaints and suggestions. While we take all of these matters seriously, we cannot settle all of them. For example, we are not in a position to ensure that farmers have enough rubber boots and work clothing, for this exceeds our potential. And these are the matters about which we have the most requests for help and intervention. We do try to see that the distribution of the meagre amounts that reach the gmina is fair.

The people must see that we are really doing something and only then, when they are convinced that the party is living for them and for their affairs, will they become confident in it. The rebuilding of the party's authority and the creation of national understanding here in the rural community ought to consist of the dogged, stubborn resolution of common human problems.

[Docent Dr of Engineering Wojciech Majewski--scientific employee of the PAN Water Construction Institute in Gdansk, member of the PZPR KW Executive Board, chairman of the PZPR KW Science Commission:]

In the scientific community that I represent, much attention was given during the reports campaign to the issue of strengthening the party's authority. It was noted in many speeches that the party's authority largely depends upon how fast we emerge from the crisis and how quickly the economic reform takes hold. It was emphasized that the scientific community has much to offer in the process of putting the reform into practice and can do much to surmount the crisis.

Scientific institutions, i.e., schools, ministerial institutes and PAN centers perform three basic functions in my opinion. The first: they conduct studies on the national economy, they do training and developmental work and scientific advising and they make reports. Second: they train cadres in post-secondary studies and post-graduate studies. Third: they do basic studies on the development of science that serve to reinforce and inspire the first two functions. Every scientific center, regardless of its specific area, must perform the preceding three functions properly, keeping in mind that they are closely tied in with the welfare and interest of our country.

In scientific centers, where party-mindedness is not always as important as in industrial plants, and where scientific achievement is respected above all, the party organization must have great authority. That is why the need to strengthen this authority was stressed during the reports campaign. This depends largely upon individual party members and their scientific achievements. In the present difficult situation of Poland, these achievements must be harnessed to the real needs of the economy. Party members should work to influence their junior colleagues, taking into account not only their scientific achievements but also their civic attitudes.

During the reports campaign, much attention was given to the correct development of scientific institutions. Difficulties were noted in acquiring testing equipment and there were problems that emanated from the currently restricted contacts with foreign countries. It was also pointed out that the wages of scientific employees are not the best, which leads to an inferior cadre.

Some of these problems are already being solved. For example, we attach much importance to the intensive cooperation of late with the scientific centers of all socialist countries.

[Ryszard Dzienisz--first secretary of the PZPR KZ (Plant Committee) at Sopot-plast (expansion unknown) in Sopot:]

Personally I believe that we must return to the resolution of the Ninth Congress, which must be put into practice concretely. All party members (and others as well) ought to become familiar with the contents of this resolution once again, reconsidering the provisions therein contained and stopping to think whether we as individuals have been implementing this resolution. The previous difficult period often did not foster the popularization of the contents of the resolution among workers.

In my opinion, an issue that must be discussed at the Voivodship Reports Conference is the skill to succeed at becoming involved in the current issues related to economic reform. If a party member is properly equipped with economic knowledge, he becomes a partner in the discussions of decisions that have been made. The present complex situation places very stiff demands on party members. To a significant degree, the shape of cooperation between the employee self-government, trade unions and enterprise management will depend upon us.

Moreover, I hope that in time of need, party organizations will act as mediators in wage and profits issues, or when issues of group interest or of the interest of society as a whole will come under scrutiny. I often wonder why, when people are at their work stations in an enterprise they almost all think differently, and when they leave their plants they become someone else--consumers, complaining about prices. To a considerable degree we all set their level.

[Jozef Rapacz--OOP secretary from the Naval Shipyard in Gdynia, member of the KW Executive Board:]

The reports campaign is an important period in the life and work of the party organization, enabling us to work more effectively to strengthen our party. The current reports campaign is taking place during the difficult period of economic crisis and a complex political-economic situation. The work of our shipyard party organization may be divided into three stages.

The first stage is our work from the reports-elections conference up to the Ninth Congress. The major directions of work were the following: preparation and discussion before the congress, the preparation of directions of action emanating from the development of the political-economic situation, and economic-social activity in our shipyard.

The second stage is the work of the organization after 13 December 1981. The primary task was to strengthen the role of the PZPR in our shipyard, to increase intraparty discipline and to strengthen OOP activity, as well as to make changes in particular organizational cells. In addition to typically organizational work, we also held activities emanating from Ninth Congress resolutions, including a discussion on the statement "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming," a discussion on the draft of the trade union law and on the issues particular to the younger generation and we undertook extremely important tasks emanating from the putting into practice of the economic reform. An important role in the life of our shipyard organization was assumed by the OKON [Citizens' Committee for National Rebirth] element functioning in the plant since its initiation by the KZ, and then transformed into an actively functioning PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Also during this period our organization attached as much importance to organizational and ideological-upbringing questions as to the economic activity of the plant, social conditions and cadre policy.

The third stage of work falls during the period of the suspension of martial law and requires from party members still more effort to consolidate and strengthen party ranks, to propagate the idea of the rebirth of the union movement, to continue to work actively in the name of national understanding and to strengthen the working-class character of the party. The party organization at our shipyard attaches special importance to working to resolve all problems and issues that rankle the workforce of our plant. We cannot lose sight of the vital interests of the working class as we perform our duties.

As a delegate to the Ninth PZPR Congress I believe that the new party authorities, who have been working at the Naval Shipyard since May 1981, have done their best during a difficult period of anarchy and the intensified activism of the opponents of the socialist system to fulfill and implement the Ninth Congress resolutions, the instructions of the Politburo and the KC, KW and KM [Municipal Committee] guidelines.

The assistance received by our shipyard party organization from the naval party committee and their fine cooperation should also be stressed.

[Lucjan Maczka--first secretary of the PZPR KZ in the MO (Citizen's Militia) Voivodship Command in Gdansk:]

The members of our party organization are awaiting the results of the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference with great interest. I think that the recent period was the most difficult one in the history of People's Poland, both for the voivodship echelon and for all party members, including MO officials and SB [Security Service] officials. The latter, whether party members or independents, guarded the systemic foundations of our fatherland, struggled for safety and public order. We performed these tasks with great responsibility and commitment, considering that our service, party and civic obligation.

The consistent, long-term work of the party KZ, of all basic and district organizations, secretaries, executive boards, superiors at work, employee groups and senior colleagues had an important impact upon the commitment of our officers. It is noteworthy that during this difficult period we did not have in our ranks a single instance of a party membership card being turned in. On the contrary, during the martial law period, we added 12 candidate-members to our rolls.

Our task during the period of suspended martial law continues to be struggling resolutely against intelligence threats to the country, fighting against everyday crime and against all manifestations of economic harm, waste, uneconomical management, bribery and corruption, as well as against the plague of speculation that is felt especially keenly by society. We shall implement these tasks consistently and fully together with our allies, the soldiers of the LWP [Polish People's Army], the members of ORMO [Workers' Detachment of Citizen's Militia], organs of control and social organizations. However, we need the broader support of our work, not only by party members, but by all citizens as well. We realize that in fighting against social pathology, we perform tasks that are sometimes troublesome for some people. In acting on behalf of all citizens within the framework of the binding legal regulations, we must neutralize all actions directed against the interest of society and the sense of personal safety. We subject our actions openly to society's evaluation.

I am convinced that the problems of law and order and public safety will find their proper place during the reports conference, for it is only in an atmosphere of calm that we can think of the future of our fatherland.

[Grazyna Wisniewska--first secretary of the PZPR KZ in the BALTYK ZPC (Sugar Plants):]

I have held the position of secretary for only a short time, since October 1982; nonetheless, during the reports campaign I already took part as secretary. It must be said that both before martial law was declared and after it took effect, there were no serious conflicts in our plant. Maintaining calm was the general task of the party organization. Party members tried to be wherever any sort of human problems arose. During the reports campaign, we critically evaluated certain organizational shortcomings and the poor attendance at meetings. However, in spite of this unsatisfactory attendance, the meetings were held.

Thus, the party organization concentrated on maintaining the proper atmosphere in the plant.

It succeeded in doing this by bringing people into the struggle to keep production lines going. The plant faced the problem of the shortage of raw materials for production--especially potato syrup and coffee beans. We were threatened with having to lay off people if we could not guarantee them work. The plant management announced a contest to work out new recipes and technologies using substitute raw materials. The engineering-technical cadre joined in. The entire time, the party organization was in charge; it initiated and supported all activities. The production line did not stop. New recipes were developed for producing candy at its current volumes. I should add that most of the proposals were authored by party members.

I envisage the future work of the party organization in our plant in this way: more attention must be given to economic issues--to informing people of the economic results of the plant and of the possibilities for moderating the crisis. As the party organization, we initiated the training of middle management on the economic reform.

We must also enter the struggle for raw materials. We are a unique organization; our members are nearly all women. Women tend to be envious, and we begrudged the WEDEL plants their larger deliveries of coffee beans. We will also work to get them.

Finally, the issue of social activity. After 31 March, the social commission, whose work was highly appreciated by the POP, ceased to function. What now? A trade union is indispensable to assume the commission's functions. We must make the workforce aware of this.

[Eugeniusz Daniluk--KZ secretary of the Polish Ocean Lines (PLO):]

Our assessment of the need to conduct a reports campaign is unequivocal--it was greatly needed and strengthened the party. Party organizations became aware of the tasks awaiting them and, what's more, party members received an evaluation of their work.

The political authorities of the voivodship decided that in the OOP's on board ship, the reports campaign should begin before October 1982. The reports campaign began on 1 October in 14 land organizations and concluded with a plant conference on 15 December 1982.

We noted some problems in the campaign that was held in OOP's on board ship. Due to the nature and time of the work done there, one cannot speak of a continuity of the term on board ship. Hence the problem of conducting proper party work. Since this is a weak element, the plant conference resolution contains recommendations whose implementation should improve the situation in OOP's on board ship.

Now for some details: during the period up to the reports conference, about 10 percent of the membership in the PLO left the party. After 13 December 1981

we noted a significant revitalization of party organizations that must be linked to the favorable change in the style of political work. We place major emphasis in ideological training on issues of the history of the Polish workers' movement. This is tied in with the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of this movement.

Finally, we see the need for improving the work of the KZ issues commissions. We know that they are not doing satisfactory work.

Figures, Facts and Events

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 4 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by: (mag)]

[Text] As 1983 began, the party voivodship organization numbered 78,108 members concentrated in 969 OOP's and 2,053 POP's. Fifty-eight first-level echelons were in operation, including 3 city-quarter echelons, 11 city echelons, 7 city-gmina echelons and 37 gmina echelons. Seven regional party work centers were opened last year to coordinate party work in the area.

The present composition of the Gdansk organization includes 42 percent workers, 5 percent peasants and 39 percent white-collar workers.

For the sake of comparison: at the beginning of the current term, according to the membership on 30 April 1981, the voivodship organization numbered a total of 95,960 people, including 45.4 percent workers, 5.2 percent peasants and 36.6 percent white-collar workers.

During the present term, significant cadre changes were also made in the authorities of the Gdansk voivodship echelon. Beginning on 8 January 1982, Comrade Stanislaw Bejger became KW first secretary. Formerly he was the minister-director of the Office of Maritime Management. In October 1981, Comrade Mieczyslaw Chabowski and Comrade Mieczyslaw Stefanski became KW secretaries, and in January 1982, Comrade Leon Brancewicz and Comrade Edward Kijek were elected KW secretaries. In December 1982, Comrade Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska took on the position of KW secretary.

In summary, since the 8th Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference, 4 members have left the KW Executive Board and 17 have left the KW plenum. Meanwhile, 6 persons were appointed to the Executive Board, and 10 were appointed to the plenum.

Guided by the need to intensify party work to resolve the complex economic problems of the voivodship, authorities have set up an Economic Department to replace the former Social Policy Department. Since this department will obviously work with industrial issues as well, the Department of Maritime and Industrial Management will be renamed the Maritime and Transport Department. This will allow the party echelon to concentrate its activities on inspiring and controlling the implementation of the Tenth PZPR KC Plenum resolution on the directions of state maritime policy.

The present structure of the Gdansk PZPR KW includes ten departments. In addition to the preceding departments, there are also the following: Cadre, Organizational, Administrative, General, Propaganda, Ideological, Science and Education and Agriculture and the Food Economy.

The Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] and the Voivodship Revision Commission [WKR] perform important tasks in the area of strengthening the ideological-organizational unity of the voivodship party organization. The current composition of the WKKP is 33 comrades, while the composition of the WKR is 29 comrades.

Development of Party Organizations

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5-6 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Maciej Geysztor]

[Text] The PZPR reports campaign in the Gdansk voivodship, which was begun in September 1982, has drawn to a close. Today, Saturday 5 February 1983, there will be a reports conference held at the AWF [Academy of Physical Education] hall, beginning at 9 o'clock, to summarize and assess the work of the voivodship party organization during the past 18 months and to outline a program of work for the second part of the term.

This period was one of the most difficult in the history of the entire party. Perhaps it was even the most difficult period. And although we consider the beginning of the current term to be the Eighth Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference, we cannot understand these difficulties unless we go back to the events of August 1980. This is especially true since these events, as in December 1970, began on Gdansk soil. It was here that the dissonance between the rapidly growing industrial potential of the region and the social infrastructure, neglected for years, was noted most painfully.

Here one waited the longest for housing; here it was most difficult to satisfy not only the growing social aspirations but also basic needs of everyday life. Here also the crisis of confidence in the party was the most severe. As the leading political force in the state, it was loaded down with all responsibility for any manifestations of social injustice, voluntaristic management, management inefficiency and the sudden worsening of the living conditions of the population.

This crisis likewise affected many party members. Its proportions are attested to by the fact that during the reports period, about 17,000 members left the ranks of the Gdansk party organization. The majority of these turned in their membership cards themselves; some were expelled for attitudes and behavior not befitting a PZPR member. The reasons that people left the party varied--disillusionment, a lack of faith in the ideological principles and effectiveness of the party's work, problems with supply and the pressure of one's immediate surroundings. Sometimes fleeting emotions led people to leave the party.

Certainly, considerably fewer people would have made such decisions had there not been the many years of neglect in ideological-upbringing work and the unilateral, mechanical expansion of party ranks as the qualifying criteria for newly accepted candidates and members were lessened. At the same time, there was an ongoing process of the self-purgation of party ranks of those who were casual members, passive, ideologically alien or opposed to socialism. The party got rid of a lot of unnecessary dead weight.

The beginning of the present term coincided with the period of preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The Gdansk party organization played an important role in the discussion over the future shape of the party, over the statute and over the program of operation. The Tri-Cities academic community added its own vital input to the discussion.

As was stressed at reports conferences in institutions of higher learning, it is also true that the emotionally-charged atmosphere that accompanied this discussion and the often excessive concentration of attention on problems of the country's sociopolitical situation led to neglect in intraparty work. This neglect was reflected in the attitudes of some of the teaching cadre and young students after martial law was declared as well. The influence of antiparty propaganda and revisionist tendencies were much more marked at institutions of higher learning than in workers' communities. An example of this was the resolution of the Gdansk University University Committee dated 12 October 1981.

In large part, this situation was the consequence of the existing conflicts within the then leadership of the voivodship echelon and the considerable activism of illegal structures that worked parallelly to influence the directions of KW work and its decisions, particularly its reformist faction.

The Ninth Congress activated the work of particular party organizations. At the same time it evoked a growing wave of enemy actions of the antisocialist opposition that attempted to discredit its achievements in the opinion of society. This influence was stronger on the Gdansk coast than in other parts of the country, especially since the management office of the NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity leadership was located here. It was through this union that forces inimical to the working class began to be heard in their aspiration to come to a confrontation with the legal authorities.

Not all party organizations have managed to oppose these activities with success. In many POP's, there was a decline in the regularity of meetings after the Ninth Congress. There were even some that held no party meetings for months on end. The weakening of the party organization's mobility was also the result of significant cadre changes. Party functions were taken on by new people, who often lacked sufficient knowledge and organizational experience. Of 1,696 members of the party authorities in the voivodship organization, 875 comrades had been elected for the first time. Previously, 654 of these had never been elected before to any party position.

At the meetings and conferences that took place during the present campaign, the dividing line of the reports period was universally accepted as 13 December 1981, the date that martial law was declared in Poland. It put a stop to the growing anarchy and also created the basis of the stabilization of the sociopolitical and economic situation. While martial law did not eliminate fully all political opposition in Poland, it forced it to go underground and thus significantly restricted its scope and its possibilities for influencing people.

It is not true that the party under martial law stayed in the shadow of the military, the MO and the SB, and that its inspirational and organizational activity weakened. And not only because there were many PZPR members among the soldiers and officers who restored order and public safety. The party was not merely an ally of the people in uniform, but also a co-organizer of activities to stabilize the social and economic situation in our country. The fact that the plans laid by the underground for 10-13 November 1982 were a fiasco was largely the result of the intensive informational-propaganda and clarification campaign carried on by the party aktiv in Coastal plants.

Reports formulated during the present reports campaign agreed that after 13 December 1981 there was a basic revitalization of activity in the party organizations and echelons of the Gdansk voivodship. Intraparty discipline improved and meetings began to be held more often. The party began to be actively involved in solving the vital problems of the particular milieu.

A new quality in party work in the region was likewise the result of personnel changes in the makeup of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, certain first-level echelons and plant committees. Twenty-three members of the voivodship party authorities were dismissed; 80 members of first-level echelons were let go, and 81 secretaries of OOP's and POP's were dismissed. All in all, 66 percent of the party apparatus was changed, and the KW POP in Gdansk was reorganized so that all political employees belonged to POP's in plants. Forty-six local groups of party activity were created; these were directed to key plants.

At the same time, the process of the verification of the leadership cadre in the state administration and in economic units took place. A total of 166 members of this cadre was replaced.

The opening of seven regional centers of party work helped to activate the work of gmina and city-gmina echelons. The effectiveness of training work also increased after a verification was conducted of KW training teams and a Voivodship Party School was created. A significant share in resolving voivodship problems belongs to the KW issues commissions: Maritime, Resolutions and Recommendations, Construction and Municipal Management, Agriculture and the Food Economy, Economic Policy, Trade and Services, Health Care and the Environment, Ideological, Propaganda, Culture, Science, Education, Youth, Intraparty, Safety and Public Order, Complaints and Review, Women's, History of the Workers' Movement and Territorial Self-government. These commissions are represented by a total of 445 comrades from all socio-professional elements of the region.

Taking into account the experiences of the past period, the Gdansk party organization has placed special emphasis on streamlining past forms of ideological training. The revitalization of ideological activity occurred especially after the Seventh KC Plenum and during the discussion over the draft of the PZPR ideological-program declaration, "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming." The assumptions of this draft were discussed in nearly 90 percent of all OOP's and POP's.

The First Voivodship Ideological Conference, held in September 1982, analyzed and evaluated the ideological state of the voivodship party organization and prepared a program of future ideological activity. On 1 October 1982, the KW Ideological Department was created. In addition to the planned training of party members and candidate-members, the training of the party aktiv is conducted in 26 branches of WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism], reaching 780 students, including teachers of history and civics.

As the sociopolitical situation stabilizes in the region, more and more attention is given in party work to economic and social questions. This change will continue to be ushered in in current activities of the voivodship echelon, according to PZPR KW first secretary Stanislaw Bejger, member of the Politburo. He made this assertion at the Wrzeszcz-Oliwa KD [District Committee] reports conference.

It is worth noting here that a KW resolution dated 14 October 1981 already recognized the urgent implementation of economic reform as the only real chance for creating economic mechanisms that would guarantee the implementation of systemic assumptions in the economy of our state. In October and November 1981, a series of training sessions was conducted for the secretaries of plant organizations in the area of the reform. The same sort of training was conducted last year in plants.

Plant commissions for reform and costs and price affairs, which were inspired by the party, likewise played an important role in the implementation of the reform. In some enterprises, however, they were not effective in correlating plants interests with the interests of society in general, as it was learned during the course of the campaign. A resolution of the Tenth PZPR KC Plenum was devoted to issues of maritime management of the state. The Gdansk party organization likewise took part actively in the preparation of this resolution.

Gdansk agriculture was likewise an important area of party work in the voivodship. In spite of an improvement of machinery, equipment and tool supply in 1982, there is still a shortage of the means of production and fodder. During reports meetings in rural POP's and at gmina conferences, the work of those units that serve agriculture was criticized. The need to take urgent action to improve the rural standard of living was stated.

A fundamental direction of the activities of the voivodship party organization was the creation of sociopolitical conditions for the rebirth of the socialist union movement. At the beginning of 1982, party organizations inspired the creation of plant social commissions, whose task would be to

fill in the gaps created by the suspension of trade union activity. Despite the fact that they lacked all statutory powers of the union organization, these commissions discharged their duties effectively in general. This was stressed at the plant reports conferences. In March and April 1982, party members in large Coastal plants took part in discussion on the topic of the future of the union movement. After the Sejm of the PRL passed a new law on trade unions, nearly all plant POP's organized party meetings at which support was expressed for the contents of the law. These meetings also served the purpose of aiding new initiating groups and the founding committees of new unions. On 20 January 1983 in the Gdansk voivodship, there were over 420 initiating groups and 182 founding committees. A total of 130 trade unions had been registered.

The Gdansk party organization became involved actively in activities in the name of national understanding. The first OKON committees arose within the voivodship in January 1982. For several months, PRON structures have been created through the cooperation of the PZPR, the ZSL [United Peasant Party], the SD [Democratic Party] and independent elements. In addition to the Provisional Voivodship PRON Council, there are now 12 city, 7 city-gmina and 37 gmina PRON councils. Elements of this movement are likewise in operation in the ten largest factories of the voivodship.

Due to the lack of space, it is impossible to discuss in full almost 2 years of activity of the Gdansk party organization. The Voivodship Reports Conference will summarize this. It will also outline the directions of party activity for the second half of the current term. However, it is already apparent that the general goals that the current campaign was to serve have been achieved to a great extent. The process of withdrawals from the party has been halted, the party has been strengthened politically-organizationally and ideologically, the activism of particular members has grown, as has the activism of organizations and echelons in resolving the problems of the region and in implementing the program contained in the Ninth Congress resolution.

The party's ties with working people are regenerating slowly but systematically. The candor and consistency with which the party will implement the tasks it has assumed will decide whether this process will endure.

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POLAND

GORZOW PROVINCE PARTY REPORTS CONFERENCE NOTED

Party Activities for Society

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 1,4

[Article by (St. F., Kw., Frab., SC): "All of the Party's Actions Serve Society: The Province Reports Conference of the PZPR in Gorzow With the Participation of Central Committee Secretary Prof Marian Orzechowski"]

[Text] After 19 months delegates with mandates from their party organizations met again in the conference hall. In the same conference hall of the Association of Construction Schools in Gorzow where a program-and-election conference had been held in June 1981 to assess achievements and mistakes and elect the new party authorities for the Gorzow Province.

Yesterday at the Province Reports Conference the delegates evaluated the performance of the basic party organizations and echelons since then. This has been a period pregnant in dramatic events--an acute political struggle, the economic crisis and the introduction of the martial law in our country. The party was subjected to a severe test of its strength, unity and ideological and organizational cohesion.

The deliberations were opened by Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the Province Committee, who greeted the delegates. The conference was attended by 254 delegates (of the 281 with lawful mandates), representing nearly 31,000 members and candidate members of the province party organization.

The participants included: Prof Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary; Mirosław Dackiewicz, deputy director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee; Władysław Jabłoński, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers; Gen Div Czesław Stopiński, commander of the Frontier Guards, bearing the mandate of the party organizations in the Frontier Guards units of the Chorzow Province.

The invited guests at the conference included Stefan Szymanski, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant party; Sławomir Sławiński, chairman of the Province Committee of the Democratic party; and Kazimierz Myszkowski, chairman of the Province People's Council.

Following the acceptance of the agenda and elections to the Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations and the Mandate Commission, the introductory report

for discussion was presented by the first secretary of the Province Committee. He observed that the conference was meeting in a different socio-political situation. The province party organization and its echelons based their activities on the resolutions of the 9th Congress, which outlined the new political line in the presence of a tenacious struggle against the opposition and the anti-socialist forces. Today the party's unity is a fundamental matter. We should achieve ideological unity. But this does not mean dispensing with a broad and multifaceted intra-party discussion of difficult problems of political and economic life.

These requirements are particularly high and not all party members have been able to cope with them. Hence the departure of so many members from the party. But the reports campaign within the basic organizations and echelons has shown that the party is consolidating its ranks, that we have a good and experienced aktiv which objectively evaluates the local situation. The reports campaign has been accompanied by responsible discussion and constructive proposals.

The positive trends in the economy and the growth in the party's activity provide the soil for surmounting the crisis. Our task is to strengthen and develop these trends. It is thus the duty of every PZPR member to strengthen the party's prestige at his work site and site of residence. Our party should draw its strength from the high discipline of its members.

After this, Stanislaw Klajnerek, chairman of the Province Party Control Commission, presented a report on its activities.

Next, a report on the performance of the Province Review Commission was presented to the delegates by its chairman, Jan Tatol.

Following the report of the Mandate Commission and the finding that a legal quorum was present, discussion began.

The first to take the floor was Stanislaw Nowak, chairman of the Province Organization Commission (WKO) and governor of Gorzow Province. He described the extensive activities of the province administration in implementing the socio-economic tasks defined in the resolution of June 1981 of the PZPR Reports-and-Election Conference. The implementation of these tasks was greatly complicated during 1981 by the spread of economic chaos and disturbances in industrial production and construction operations as well as by the breakdown of coproduction bonds and a marked decline in labor productivity. This situation exacerbated the general economic crisis and caused tremendous market difficulties and contributed to various political and social tensions. The introduction of martial law provided the conditions for halting the decline in the economy and restoring a normal work rhythm in all of its fields as well as taking steps to break the back of the crisis. Here a large role has also been played by military commissioners and the personnel of the Territorial Operating Group (TGO).

It was only toward the end of last year, however, that the decline in industry and construction could be halted, but the economic targets of the 1982 plan could not be fulfilled. This concerns both the basic sectors of the economy and the entire non-production sphere, especially the fields serving to meet the basic social and consumer needs of society. The scale of the neglect as regards such

fields as the communal economy, education and upbringing, health care and environmental protection was revealed by a July 1982 survey of the Armed Forces Inspectorate obligating the authorities to eliminate more rapidly the most glaring shortcomings and allocate for these purposes more material and financial resources than previously.

Governor St. Nowak next described the assumptions of the province's economic plan for 1983 and for the 1983-1985 period. The planned directions of investments and funds are to promote all the favorable trends recorded toward year end in the province's economy, help surmount the crisis alleviate market difficulties and eliminate many neglects in meeting the social and consumption needs of society. The selection of the principal economic aims and tasks is subordinated to these directions; e.g. last year as much as 56 percent of all outlays was allocated for the housing and food program. The communal economy also will receive more funds, owing to the need to prepare developed building lots for housing construction. The limited resources available in view of the persistent economic crisis will not, however, serve to eliminate all the neglects but will merely alleviate the shortages, especially as regards the social-consumption infrastructure. This was pointed out at a recent session of the Province People's Council for voting upon the province's economic plan for 1983 and the years 1983-1985. During that session attention was drawn to the importance of public activism in implementing the plan voted upon, which should be reflected in various production initiatives, local initiatives to solve many problems of everyday life and improvements in the performance of economic organizations through, among other things, a complete application of the reform's principles, increase in labor productivity and the linkage of wages to results of production. In conclusion, St. Nowak stressed that a basic role in these activities should be played by party echelons and organizations as well as all party members who, through their work and attitude, must contribute to overcoming the crisis and improving the performance of the province's economy.

Tadeusz Kazimierczak, the chairman of the Ideological Commission and member of the PZPR Province Committee, discussed the party's political work relating to the education and upbringing of youth. Elementary and secondary schools in 1981 underwent extensive ideological and political confusion. Many directors and teachers submitted to the uncritical propaganda activity of the Solidarity extremists; young people were drawn into political activities, too; the secular nature of the schools was impaired in many cases; and the educational process was markedly disturbed. This situation could not be surmounted by the school basic party organizations (POP) and youth organizations.

Following the introduction of the martial law, the launching of a broad program of political action to restore the normal conditions of education at schools and rebuild the educational system as well as restore appropriate ideological attitudes of teachers and pupils, was carried out. This was promoted by decisions regarding certain members of the teaching faculty and the administration as well as by the activization of school and youth party organizations. These actions, which also were assisted by officers of the People's Army of Poland have produced the first though still modest effects. They should, of course, be expanded, with the primary responsibility to be borne by the teaching personnel, the school party organizations and the parents. T. Kazimierczak stressed, however, the need to enlist the entire

society in the process of socialist education of the youth, since this should not be the task of the schools alone. In conclusion, he recommended that the management of work establishments and the public-political organizations--and chiefly the POPs active within them, join in forming a coherent educational system.

Antoni Czernaluk, member of the PZPR Central Committee and farmer at the Radow State Farm, discussed two problems that arose during the reports campaign at the Rzepinska party organization. The first was the unsatisfactory progress in regulating the water conditions in that region, which results in the loss of many production possibilities for local agriculture. The second, also objectionable to the people of Rzepin and environs, is the decision to shut down the Municipal Hospital in Rzepin, which has exacerbated the already difficult local situation as regards health protection. This decision is regarded by the Rzepin community as unjustified.

Next, A. Czernaluk discussed the interconnected difficult personnel and housing situation on the State Farm (PGR). The lack of housing complicates recruiting adequate skilled personnel, which in its turn affects adversely the size of output and quality of management. The PGR cannot solve this problem with its own resources owing to lack of funds and construction capacities, and hence it should be properly solved by the economic decisions of the province and central authorities. A. Czernaluk also drew attention to the urgent need to build a sugar factory in the Gorzow Province in view of the growth in the size of the areas planted with sugar beets and the rising cost of transporting the beets to the sugar factory in Leszno Province.

Elzbieta Maciejowska, secretary of the PZPR city committee in Gorzow, on presenting the political situation at the local city party organization and the course of the reports campaign, stressed that, despite some revival of its activities the committee's performance still is far from perfect. It has not either worked out its own techniques for inspiring and monitoring the work of the city authorities, as demonstrated by the many problems persisting in certain aspects of city life such as the functioning of trade and the communal economy. The rebuilding of the strength and authority of the city party organization in Gorzow has required much attention recently, particularly as regards developing party training and strengthening the bonds with party organizations and work-forces at labor establishments. A system for the flow of information and regular consultation between the city party echelon and plant party committee secretaries has also been worked out. Such a style of work is effective and it will be continued and expanded.

Jadwiga Checinska, POP member at the KOMES Garment Industry Works in Slubice, on discussing the economic situation and last year's performance, devoted much attention to the extremely difficult housing situation of [the personnel of] that plant. The lack of housing has resulted in departures of a large part of the work-force, of whom several hundred had been hired 3 years ago on promising them housing. And yet, during the 1981-1982 period not a single cooperative or communal apartment has been released for occupancy in that town. KOMES does receive some plant housing, but the attendant expenditures raise its production cost and hence also

the prices of its products. J. Checinska proposed that the cost of the upkeep of that housing be partially financed from central funds so as to lighten the burden on the plant's social services fund which anyway is insufficient to meet the needs of the work force. On the other hand the problem of housing construction in Slubice requires a more general solution, since the prospects of having to wait nearly 30 years are unacceptable.

Jan Kucharski, Polish State Railroads (PKP) employee in Choszczno referred to the time not so long ago when there had been no common language among workers and the political opponent more and more explicitly strived toward a confrontation with the people's rule. He also recalled the crisis within the party itself, the need to part with many comrades because, as he put it, "their road was different from ours." The speaker next stated that every party member--fulfilling his statutory obligation--should focus his efforts on explaining to people in a credible manner all the purposes of the struggle and what is good and what is bad for Poland. The party wants and must lead to a national agreement, the speaker also declared. The party will not rest until it secures the interests of the working people. Further reflecting on the attitudes of party members, the discussant admitted that it is still very difficult to speak and reach an agreement with people burdened by the numerous problems of present-day life.

The speaker devoted the second part of his speech to serious problems on the railroads, which are plagued by personnel and rolling-stock shortages--deficiencies in not only locomotives and cars but also spare parts. He emphasized that it is high time for the Polish industry to begin to work better in behalf of the transport as well. Speaking of the difficult and responsible work of the railroaders, the speaker criticized their lower wages compared with those paid in other sectors of the national economy, as well as the fact that the housing and social conditions of railroad employees leave much to be desired even though the level of railroad safety hinges on these conditions.

Stanislaw Wlosek, physician from Mysliborz, described in an extremely committed and responsible manner the participation of the medical community in work to improve the public health situation while at the same time criticizing sharply the ministry of health which, in his opinion, is not responding appropriately to local signals concerning various problems of health service. Citing the letter which he had at one time sent to the minister of health and social welfare concerning the severe shortage of medical personnel in the province, and the reply he had received from the director of the ministry's personnel department, the speaker accused [the ministry] of dishonest and shabby treatment of the problems raised, as well as of unfamiliarity with the needs existing in the hinterlands as regards improving the base of activities of the health service.

Analyzing certain difficult problems of the work of health care teams, the speaker opined that the purpose of these teams was well-intended and aimed at an optimal protection of the interests of the population of towns, gminas and villages, but in practice the converse was true. A proof that the ideas of the government presidium have become distorted is the fact that, among other things, the ministry refuses to consider the gminas employing just one medical assistant as areas with shortages of medical personnel.

Referring to the mandate of his local party organization, the opinions of the entire medical community and the opinions of the inhabitants and authorities of Mysliborz, the speaker recalled the old promise, made some 15 years ago and still unfulfilled, to build a hospital in Mysliborz. The need to undertake this project, despite all the known difficulties of the crisis era, continues to be an urgent issue to the city.

Edward Radecki, first secretary of the Santok Gmina Party Committee, speaking in behalf of the Agricultural Commission of the Province Committee, informed the conference participants about the principal directions of the work and activity of that commission performed to improve the region's agriculture. The speaker also stated that the commission successively evaluates the degree of implementation of the resolutions of the joint plenum of the PZPR and ZSL [United Peasant Party] province committees concerning the development of agriculture and food management in the region, and that its recommendations, drafted following discussions that often are tumultuous, are of great help to formulating the directives for improving the party's work in the countryside.

Referring to the deliberations of the recent joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, the chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the Province Committee presented to the conference participants a long list of recommendations that should be considered during the implementation of the joint agricultural policy. These recommendations include references to the worsening quality of industrially prepared feeds, the need for revisions of the system of bartering grain for fodder, and improvements in the system for contracting for crops and livestock products. The low interest of farmers in purchasing mineral fertilizers is disturbing; this is due to both their high price and the still deficient technical knowledge of a large part of farm producers. The question of the profitability of agricultural production is a highly emotional issue in the Gorzow countryside, and the intensification of that production on poorer soils is impeded by, among other things, the lack of systemic solutions providing greater incentives for farmers to work such soils as well.

Differences in treatment of state and private agriculture still exist, and hence any solutions giving preference to either of these sectors of agriculture should be eliminated.

Waldemar Sokol, chairman of the Province Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) declared that his organization associates people from many different milieux. This meets the need for the existence of an organization capable of assuring the so-called "educational continuity." In practical activities this necessitates differentiation of the proposed program solutions so as to consider the needs and possibilities of discrete milieux. The ZSMP plays a major role in solving the social problems of youth. Our achievements include the marked development of youth housing cooperatives in town and country and the adoption, by the Province People's Council, of a resolution on the living, studying and working conditions of the youth, which was followed by a large number of measures taken by the authorities. We also work to promote agricultural education, horticulture, initiatives for expanding the output of agricultural implements, and the branches of our Union in schools are gradually growing stronger. There, we concentrate on patriotic and internationalist upbringing. We committed ourselves to the forma-

tion of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This is proved by the fact that we have numerous representatives in the province, city, gmina and plant branches of that Movement, along with collective access of ZSMP circles and echelons to it. Further, W. Sokol proposed establishing within the province party echelon a system for regular monitoring of the implementation of Central-Committee and its own resolutions on the problems of the rising generation.

Marian Czyzanowski, delegate, chairman of the Workers' Council at the Gorzow Machinery Works (ZBM), recalling the establishment of worker self-governments, declared that at the ZBM the elections to the Workers' Council were handled properly and from the outset of its activities it was realized that no effects would be produced without practical learning of reasoning and democracy at the same time. Although this had happened before the martial law, one-half of the elected membership of the Workers' Council consisted of party members.

After the activities of the self-government were restored, priority was given to analyzing the incentive system. This is not an easy task, because the average wage at that enterprise is markedly below the province average.

Next, the discussant stressed, on citing examples from the communal economy, that enhancing the importance of the quality of work is absolutely necessary. The mechanisms of the economic reform should stimulate this, but promotional work within and by basic party organizations in the community also is needed. For it clearly ensues from meetings with brigade leaders that it has become a custom for worker teams in Poland to work in any which way rather than to work solidly.

Czeslaw Gierczynski, member of the PZPR Central Committee, teacher from Pelczyce, cited national statistics to point to the differences in living standards between town and country and especially in development opportunities between rural and urban children and youth. In recent years, such fields as physical culture and mass sports in the countryside and the physical education of children in rural schools also have been neglected.

It has become a custom to treat the countryside as the site of agricultural production without bearing in mind that it also represents a social and educational community.

Thus while the requirements of the economic reform should be fully honored, it is necessary to draft such criteria for budget outlays as would serve to equalize differences in civilizing standards between town and country.

This should also be assisted by local initiatives within the rural communities.

Toward the end of the discussions the floor was taken by Wladyslaw Jablonski, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers.

The next to speak was Prof Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

In view of the deadline for publishing this issue of GAZETA, both speeches as well as the final discussion and the closing speech by Florian Ratajczyk, first secretary of the PZPR Gorzow Province Committee, will be published in the next issue.

General Province Report

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 3,4

[Report: "Report of the PZPR Province Committee to the Province Reports Conference in Gorzow: Summary"]

[Text] One and one-half years have passed since our previous Province Reports-and-Election Conference. We are now assessing the work done during that period and outlining tasks adapted to the qualitatively new socio-political and economic situation in the province. We point to the still existing shortcomings in the activity of the Gorzow party organization, in all fields of our life.

The 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress worked out a program accepted by party members as the sum total of pre-congress experiences and discussions. Our province party organization participates in this program.

The resolutions of the 9th Congress have thus become the guideposts for action of our province party organization. Our activities are based on the decisions of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee developing the tasks outlined by the Congress and the recommendations ensuing from interdepartmental inspections or coming from the Inspectorate of the Armed Forces and the Central Review Commission (CKR).

The province party echelon also based its activities on its own resolutions. But implementing these resolutions completely has been somewhat difficult. Following August 1980 the party had lost the support of a large part of the working class. Attacked by the political opponent, it was unable to accomplish its political goals. The year 1981, and especially its second half, is now history, and it is undoubtedly one of the most dramatic periods in the history of the Polish state and nation. To the party the year 1981 was a period of struggle with the enemy and with its own weaknesses. Striving to seize power and change the system of society in Poland, the enemies of socialism resorted to exceptionally brutal methods. They attempted to sow hatred against anything related to socialism, the party and the achievements of People's Poland, and they stubbornly strived to foment political divisions. Destructive activities intended to paralyze the economy were conducted.

In such a situation the introduction of the martial law afforded the only chance. This made it possible, despite certain restrictions of civic rights, to restore discipline in work establishments and law and order on city streets. Considerable credit for restoring a normal rhythm of life belongs to the uniformed party members in the military and the militia and Security Service (SB). We express to them our cordial thanks.

The experience gained from the activities of the armed forces should be utilized in the work of the state and economic administration as well as in developing party control. The recommendations of the Inspectorate of the Armed Forces are not without significance to normalizing the operations of industry, transport, construction, the communal economy, education and health service, and they continue to be applied. Our party echelons and organizations participate in monitoring their implementation.

The conditions in our province are right for forming the patriotic movement for national rebirth. It associates thousands of citizens--workers, farmers and white-collar employees. The citizens' committees for national rebirth and elements of the patriotic movement for national rebirth include veterans of the struggle for Poland's freedom, activists of the worker movement, the middle generation brought up by the Union of Polish Youth [ZMP] and the Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS], as well as young members and non-members of the youth movement. Joint actions are waged by members of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the non-party members, including people belonging to Christian and secular Catholic associations. The new movement rising at the grassroots level out of the public's civic feeling of responsibility receives much attention from the province party echelon jointly with the fraternal parties. The strengthening of cooperation between party and non-party members has been promoted by meetings of Province Committee leadership with the leadership of the governing boards of branches of Pax and Christian Social Association [ChSS].

Quite responsibly, our province party organization supports the law on trade unions. This law corresponds to our views of the role and function of the trade union movement in the socialist state. Party members favor trade unions that protect the interests of the working people and act as co-managers of plants.

Ever since the new trade unions began to be formed we have been aware that this will be a long process and that the initiative belongs to the working people. They have been formed in every work community in our province. But while we support the formation and organizational activities of founding groups and committees, we have been opposing any attempts of the administration and executive boards or basic party organization [POP] secretaries to hold the reins over this newly rising movement. We support the autonomy and independence of trade unions. This does not conflict with the broad participation of party members in their activities. We believe that, now that trade unions have been engaging in their statutory activities for more than 20 days, party members must declare their participation in them. We expect of the party members occupying the leading positions a display of responsibility for providing the conditions for the organizational activity of trade union organizations and full implementation of their recommendations--of course, when these are realistic and feasible under the present conditions. Only then will the trade union exercise their role and be able to develop and meet with recognition from the work-forces.

The province party echelon, while it is focusing its attention on the internal strengthening of the party and the social development of the province, has not remained passive in face of economic problems. Our Gorzow party organization has resolutely supported the concept of the economic reform. We view the reform as a way of healing the economy and restoring it to normalcy. We have stated so in the proposals submitted prior to the 9th PZPR Congress. This accounts for our interest in the application of the reform to the province's work establishments and state farms. We have undertaken a broad drive to explain and publicize the reform with the active participation of the Polish Economic Society [PTE], the Supreme Technical Organization [NOT], the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration [TNOiK] and the Association of Accountants. After years of experiments on state farms we recognize that it produces measurable effects in the form of ordered internal structures and economic situation, owing to the adaptation of

production to the existing manpower resources and industrial capacities. State farms have achieved substantial progress in improving management, eliminating the waste of produce and streamlining the utilization of the tractor and machinery pool. Financial performance was improved in all combines and enterprises.

Similar tendencies occur after a year of the operation of industrial enterprises under the economic reform. Noteworthy is above all the improvement in the utilization of raw and other materials.

Owing to the political-organizational activities of the province party organization and administration, positive changes have occurred in the region's economy; this points to the transition from its decline to its growth during the third quarter of last year. The performance of a fairly large group of enterprises has now become superior to that in 1981. This concerns especially the Kostrzyn Pulp and Paper Works, the BOMET Window Equipment Plant, the SILWANA Silk Plant, the Gorzow Furniture Works and enterprises of the small industry. The situation in construction remains the most difficult. Despite efforts, the volume of construction continued to decline in 1982. The decline in the number of dwellings released for occupancy could not be halted. At present nearly 25,000 families are waiting for cooperative apartments. The problem of the infrastructure of housing projects has not been solved either. Further progress of housing construction is impeded by the lack of developed building lots.

In agriculture our activities centered chiefly on stimulating the growth of commercial production, improving the supplies of means of production to agriculture, regulating the inter-sector land transfers, the expansion of homegrown fodder resources on private and socialized farms and improvements in the efficiency of management. A major problem in our work has also been land reclamation and water supplies for agriculture and the countryside, with special consideration of the program for utilizing the Notec as the province's largest fodder reserve.

In marketable production the results achieved in the procurements of food grains were among the best in the country, and appropriate quantities of vegetables, fruits and food potatoes for winter supply have been distributed for the population.

The plan for livestock procurements also was fulfilled, even if below the 1981 targets. The milk procurement targets were underfulfilled. The situation in hog and cattle raising is alarming, as extensive sales of the dam herd, farrowing sows and heifers, have been recorded in the second half of 1982. This may affect adversely the livestock and milk procurement tasks for the current year.

Housing construction on state farms is a burning issue. To this day many newly built large livestock premises remain unaccompanied by adequate housing for personnel. In this field rapid and specific decisions by ministerial authorities are needed.

This year and in the following years we should consolidate all the obvious tendencies arising in agriculture and promote the elimination of unfavorable trends impeding the growth of agricultural production.

We should provide favorable conditions for the renewal of the activities of rural self-government and all its organizations. For we view authentic rural self-government as assuring the direct influencing of the economic and social activities of the countryside and agriculture.

The low level of industrial and agricultural production affects the level of consumer supplies. This remains the greatest vexation to working people.

The market difficulties due to the crisis condition of our economy compel, on the one hand, the majority of the province's public to be more concerned about its subsistence and, on the other, prompt certain individuals to become cynical and strive to unjustifiably enrich themselves. This phenomenon elicits the sharpest social criticism and is universally condemned.

Our party organization should provide complete support to control groups, on assigning the most experienced aktiv to them. The struggle against speculation remains a most important issue in our social life.

The living problems of the working people require responsible solution of many day-by-day discomforts. We are aware that, next to store queues, the housing shortage is becoming most keenly felt.

The solution of urgent consumer problems was and is our obligation. This accounts for the 1,388 intercessions made by the correspondence and inspection department of the Province Committee in work establishments and institutions. A large part of these cases has been settled affirmatively.

It is disturbing that, in addition to specific problems with housing and living and family conditions, the senders of letters and direct petitioners mention poor management, failure of enterprise managers to show a feeling of responsibility, red tape, indifference to human injustice, formalism, waffling, parasitism and poor interpersonal relations.

Representing the interests of the working people and serving them, we shall continue, in accordance with the Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of our party, to respond rapidly and effectively to the shortcomings and deformations reported by the public and eliminate manifestations of evil, cronyism and nepotism. We shall continue to aid those turning to us.

An important place in the activities of the province party organization is occupied by youth problems. Young people account for one-third of the general population, and one-half of the employed population, of our province.

The effects of the crisis have not skirted the rising generation of Poles. Some claim that we have irreversibly lost for socialism an entire generation. Not all of it, and not irreversibly. We reject this fatalistic thesis of the ineluctable loss of the entire generation and the hopelessness of its prospects.

At one of the first plenary sessions of the Province Committee we outlined the tasks of party work with the youth. In the light of the Central Committee reso-

lution, these tasks remain topical. the point is that our youth should decide the shape of its future through its occupational and civic activity. Our party organizations and echelons should support just initiatives of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], the ZMW and the ZSP [Polish Students Association] intended to broaden the influence of the youth on decisions serving to improve its material and cultural conditions.

We approve the initiatives of youth cooperatives in developing housing construction. They should be supported by the state administration. On the inspiration of party members, the problems of the rising generation should lie in the center of attention of the people's councils, self-government organizations and trade unions.

The positive changes occurring in various spheres of our party, social and economic life also result from the consistent implementation of the recommendations made during the 1981 program-and-election campaign.

At that time 58 proposals were made, of which 21 addressed to the central authorities and 37 to the province authorities.

Ten proposals concerned intra-party matters and pertained to revising the party's statute so as to assure adherence to Leninist norms of party life and determine the mechanisms preventing abuse of power and countering the crisis. These proposals were transmitted to the 9th Congress and reflected in the new PZPR statute and congress resolutions.

Most proposals pertained to housing and communal construction as well as the construction of educational and health-service facilities, the streamlining of transport and communications and material and market supplies. Some were considered in the 1982 and 1983 province plans. Eleven proposals for the expansion of the network of nurseries and preschools, the construction of schools and the opening of small production plants were implemented.

The materials provided to comrade delegates confirm that we have covered the arduous path of consolidating the province party organization so as to purify it of the previous relaxation of views and party discipline and deviations from democratic centralism; thus at present ideological and organizational unity has been strengthened and influence on social and economic affairs in discrete communities within the province regained.

We have been quite consistently implementing the resolutions of the 9th Congress regarding socialist democracy, on devoting much attention to the reactivation of worker self-governments and rural self-governments, the functioning of the people's councils and the cooperation of the PZPR with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

We have consistently submitted to the Province Committee plenum information on the activities of the Executive Board and Secretariat of the Committee. More and more often, Executive Board recommendations on economic, social and party matters are drafted in consultation and cooperation with the problem commissions of the Province Committee.

I wish to emphasize the deep commitment to the stabilization of our life, the assurance of order, peace and tranquility, and express my thanks for it to the population of the Gorzow Province, the party and non-party members of the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia [ORMO], and members of public organizations, especially the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD] and the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR], who had been active during the most difficult period and remain successfully active to this day. We also express our thanks to councilmen at all levels for drafting realistic development plans corresponding to the current possibilities of our region.

Reports meetings and conferences at POPs and basic party echelons are now over, and today's conference ends the reports campaign in the Gorzow Province party organization.

The course of the plant, gmina and city-gmina conferences confirmed that our party has good and experienced aktiv which objectively evaluates the situation in its communities. Hence the campaign has been accompanied by highly responsible discussions and constructive recommendations on the social and economic problems of the plants and the countryside. Attention was drawn primarily to the need to energize the activities of the POPs, streamline the work of the administration, improve intra-party work and expand the participation of party members in trade unions.

What should be done to infuse the POPs in all communities with that activity and party responsibility? We should consider this question at the present conference. We believe that, immediately after this conference, the Province Committee should work out the principles and forms of the liaison between echelon members and POP delegates and the party communities.

The party shall count as the leading and guiding force in the state and society if all its elements and echelons--from the POP to the Central Committee inclusively--are strong.

Thus we regarded and regard our paramount task to be the restoration of the ideological and organizational unity of our party. We adopted as the basic criterion the acceptance and personal participation of party members in implementing the resolutions of the 9th Congress.

It must be unfortunately noted that for too long a time a considerable influence on the relaxation of the views and attitudes of party members had been exerted by those party members who, under the cover of democratizing party life, proclaimed views alien to the Marxist-Leninist party, weakened its vigilance toward the political opponent and split the party from the inside. They were certain leaders of the team of the 7th Province Pre-Congress Conference--elected to Gorzow city party offices. Their actions following the 9th Congress confirmed that they hold positions alien to the party and impair its cohesiveness. These accusations were corroborated by the special commission of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee. The issue was also considered by the Province Party Control Commission, with the unreconciled members being expelled from the party and others given party penalties. With others still, admonitory talks were held.

The positive tendencies in industry, agriculture and public life and the growth of the party's activity provide the soil for surmounting the crisis. Our task is to develop and strengthen these tendencies. This can be accomplished by a party that is recognized by society. Thus it is the duty of every party member to strengthen the party's prestige at his site of work and site of residence. We can achieve this through exemplary good performance in our jobs and commitment to political and social activities. We must also improve our individual and collective agitation of the public. Today every party member has access to current socio-political information on the country and the province. This mechanism is certainly still not perfect, but still it is much better now.

The Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism have commenced operation. A fundamental issue is the return to the sources of scientific socialism, to the heritage of our party.

In political education, the distinctive return to the sources of the workers' party has been accompanied by the celebration of the centenary of the Polish worker movement. Implementing the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress, we pointed to the historical truth about the role of the working class and its vanguard, the revolutionary party, in the struggle for a socialist shape of Poland. The celebration of the centenary of the worker movement provided a valuable contribution to the cause of strengthening the party's ideological unity and a precious historical lesson for the rising generation of Poles. But this is only the beginning. Party training should be not a formality but a fundamental and recognized form of arming party members with the knowledge indispensable to conducting elucidating work with non-party members.

In our party the Leninist principles of democratism have been restored. Each of us has the right to express at the party forum his attitude toward the resolutions proposed. This is promoted by the system of consultations being developed by the Central Committee and the Province Committee. This right should be more broadly utilized by our POPs. It is up to us whether the principle of intra-party democracy will operate or remain a dead letter.

In our concern for the democratization of intra-party life we should not, however, let out of sight the duty of following and implementing the resolutions adopted by the majority as well as the resolutions of the higher echelons. Therein is expressed the unity of discipline and rights of the members.

The obligations we accept require perfecting authentic bonds between the POP aktiv and the non-party members. In this respect we have taken a large step forward. But this is still too little in relation to needs. Our bonds with the non-party members, with the working class, provide a guarantee that the POPs and party echelons will devise appropriate solutions for all fields of life in accordance with public interests.

It is also our duty to accept functions of the control of all spheres of life and examine the extent to which the activities of the economic and state administration are in accord with the resolutions of our party.

Improvements in the forms and methods of party work and in our influence on non-party members as well as growth in the activity of all our party elements will enable us to implement the tasks outlined by the 9th Extraordinary Congress with respect to our province.

Party Control Committee Report

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 3

[Report: "Report of the Province Party Control Commission in Gorzow (Paraphrased)"]

[Text] During the period reported on, from July 1981 until January 1983, the Province Party Control Commission [WKKP] has been working under special conditions. As adopted by the 9th Congress, the program for socialist renewal, reforms and the rebirth of the party itself, the acute political struggle against opponents of the system and the PZPR, and finally the ideological and organizational weakening of the party--all this posed also the WKKP with huge tasks as regards purging the party's ranks, rebuilding its strength and authority and defending its ideological and political identity. This was all the more difficult considering that these tasks had to be accomplished by a commission all of whose members had no previous experience in exercising their functions. They had to preserve the indispensable principled party-mindedness and objectivism in conducting the process of purging and vetting which, given the atmosphere of considerable public interest and emotions, sometimes resulted in unfair admonitions and irresponsible generalizations. The vetting process was also utilized by the political opponent, who tried to slander the entire party and discredit its aktiv.

During the period reported on the presidium of the WKKP and the verdict teams adopted altogether 60 resolutions by virtue of which 10 persons were expelled from the PZPR, 6 received reprimands and warnings, 2 received reminders and 1 was suspended from membership. With regard to 4 persons the proceedings ended with an admonitory talk and 1 person was acquitted. In addition, 30 appeals were considered and in 25 of these cases the previously administered penalties were reduced.

During that period verdicts were made by 24 local party control commissions [KKP] of which the city-gmina KKP in Sulecin and the Gorzow City KKP performed most outstandingly.

Following scrutiny by the Inspectorate of the Armed Forces and the Central Review Commission, the WKKP and the local KKP's evaluated the attitude of 43 negatively rated party members. Investigation led to the following decisions: admonitory talks were held with 28 persons; 5 persons received warnings; 2 received reprimands; 1 received a reprimand with warning; and 2 were expelled from the PZPR.

The WKKP also evaluated the activities of certain members of the Team of the 7th Province Pre-Congress Commission. On the basis of the available information, the WKKP decided to expel 2 persons from the party, administer a reprimand and warning to 1 and a reminder to 1. Two additional persons were not penalized but subjected to admonitory talks.

Following the 4th Plenum of the Central Party Control Commission, preventive-upbringing work was markedly expanded especially as regards individuals violating the PZPR statute. A total of 123 admonitory talks was given, and this form produced the expected results, protecting many comrades against more severe consequences.

A fixed element in the work of the WKKP is monitoring activities, which serve both to implement the tasks of strengthening the ideological-political and organizational cohesion of the party and improve the party verdicts and the work of local KKP's. For example, in August 1982, the implementation of the resolution of the 7th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was verified jointly with the Province Review Commission at 35 POPs, 9 plant party committees and 13 basic party echelons. The inspection revealed a number of shortcomings, particularly in the work of the POPs, along with the low political activity and organizational weakness of these organizations.

During the period covered by the report the WKKP received 294 letters containing requests, grievances, proposals, etc. which were thoroughly considered. It was recommended to all local KKP's that they respond immediately and properly to the letters received, as this is a major means of assuring the growth of the party's authority and credibility among the public.

Another important element of the work of the WKKP was training-and-information services for its members. Both the WKKP and the local KKP's performed their tasks in cooperation with the party echelons.

The past period of activity of the WKKP has resulted in many valuable experiences and recommendations which will be utilized in its further activities--in improving the formation of verdicts and purging the party of individuals whose political, occupational and moral attitudes disqualify them from being its members, eliminating from its ranks all opportunist-revisionist and dogmatic-sectarian tendencies. This will promote the rebirth and consolidation of the party itself as well as the socialist renewal and the changes initiated in our country.

Party Audit Commission Report

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 3,4

[Report: "Report of the Province PZPR Review Commission in Gorzow (Paraphrased)"]

[Text] During the period covered by the report, that is, from June 1981 till January 1983, the Province Review Commission had been active on the basis of the PZPR Statute, the resolution of the Province Reports-and-Election Conference, the resolutions of successive plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee, and the by-laws and guidelines and control programs of the Commission itself. The evaluations, analyses and inspections by the Province Party Review Commission [WKR] dealt with both the program-political activity of the province party organization and the functioning of all party elements and echelons as well as of the PZPR Province Committee in its formal-organizational and financial aspects. Among other things, these problems were discussed at six plenary sessions of the WKR and examined in

the course of inspections performed under the inspection program of the Central Review Commission [CKR] and the WKR's own monitoring program. Altogether, 14 broadly conceived inspections of the performance of party elements and echelons at various levels were performed, focusing both on the evaluation of selected problems of party work, the implementation of the resolutions of the higher echelons, and the assessment of the payments of party dues, the quality of bookkeeping and filing, and the manner of response to the letters and complaints received.

On this basis, the WKR identified various shortcomings in the work of the province party organization regarding both its ideological-political and organizational-financial activities. These shortcomings detract from the party's influence on the surrounding reality and render impossible an effective implementation of the resolutions adopted; they moreover result in make-believe work and demonstrate the failure of the leadership of party echelons to adhere to the statutory and organizational principles of the PZPR.

To eliminate these shortcomings, the WKR offered a number of recommendations to be utilized in further party work. Below are some of them:

--the proclivity toward adopting numerous resolutions and the excessively generalized nature of the party projects and tasks undertaken should be eliminated;

--the steps taken should be of a more aggressive and militant nature and their implementation should be regularly monitored and analyzed;

--resolutions and tasks must ensue from a thorough analysis of the socio-political situation and every task must also specify the responsible individual and the means and methods for its implementation;

--party organizations and echelons should immediately bring into order membership records and eliminate delays in the payments of dues;

--measures to activize the POPs should be developed, particularly in the countryside, as should be measures to exercise properly the inspirational-monitoring functions of the party echelons with respect to the organs of state and economic administration;

--statutory meetings of the POPs should regain the role of the principal forum for political work and become the sites of the solution of all the problems of the communities concerned;

--the weakness of the party training system shows that the POPs and echelons still underestimate its importance to the development of ideological life within the party.

These assessments and recommendations were formulated by the WKR in its primary concern for regaining the party's ideological-political power and the indispensable infra-party effectiveness and efficiency of organization. The WKR expects that the problems mentioned above will be elaborated and enriched during the reports conference.

Final Discussions Report

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by [illegible]: "Province PZPR Reports Conference in Gorzow (Last Part of Report on Deliberations)"]

[Text] The deliberations of the Province PZPR Reports Conference in Gorzow ended Monday at 1800 hours. For technical reasons we could not print the whole of the report on these deliberations. So now today the final part is published below.

At 1630 hours 15 comrades were still waiting to take the floor. On a motion from the floor, the delegates resolved to discontinue the discussion on leaving the floor to three more persons and having the remainder submit the texts of their comments for recording in the minutes of the meeting.

The three persons who still took the floor were:

Tadeusz Zaborowski, delegate, staff member of the Main Office of Control of Press, Publishing and Public Performances [GUKPPiW] who, speaking of the cadre policy of the party, asked for unification of the related criteria. This should not be a complex problem, because the proposals made prior to the 9th Congress were explicit and the provisions of the PZPR charter resolved upon at that Congress are no less explicit. The speaker also expressed the view that the low initiative of the local POPs is principally responsible for delays in setting up worker self-governments at certain plants.

The comments by Antoni Maslo, PZPR Province Committee secretary, chiefly focused on problems of ideological work. In his opinion, this work is neglected, especially at the smaller party elements. These effects were all too obvious when the time came for a political struggle against the anti-socialist forces. Many party members failed to cope with the requirements of that struggle.

Honest and free discussion at party organizations and among the aktiv is needed in order to build the bridges to a national agreement. Positive experience in this respect already exists in the province and it demonstrates the validity of the rise of the PRON movement. The Province Committee secretary informed the delegates that the next plenum of the PZPR Province Committee will be devoted to ideological problems.

Stefan Walczak, a veteran of the worker movement, recalled some episodes from the early period of the history of the party's activities in the postwar years and, regarding the mistakes of the 1970s, declared that the slogan for building a second Poland was launched while at the same time forgetting the first Poland.

Further, the speaker considered the problems of the renascent trade union movement, stressing that its rebuilding and the recovery of its class-oriented nature may still be slow but even so haste and force should not be used in this matter.

In the final part of the deliberations the floor was taken by Wladyslaw Jablonski, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, and subsequently by Marian Orzechowski, Professor, PZPR Central Committee secretary.

Sixteen persons, including invited guests, took part in the discussions.

The draft resolution was submitted to the conference by the chairman of the recommendations commission Edward Koblenc, first secretary of the Sulecin City-Gmina party committee. After the proposals and comments made during the discussion were considered, the delegates approved by a voice vote a resolution defining the directions of activity of the province party organization for the coming period.

Concluding the deliberations, Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the Province Committee, declared that the reports campaign has ended with this province conference.

"This does not mean that the work to implement the resolution of the 9th Congress and our own resolutions is over. At the conference we have seen to what extent we succeeded in rebuilding the power of the party and its ideological and organizational unity and cohesion. It turns out that we made further progress in this direction. It is now up to us to keep all the basic party organizations posted about the proceedings of this conference. Our main task is to strengthen these organizations and prompt them to be active in exercising their social and statutory duties. For it is on them, after all, that the power of the party and the effectiveness of their work hinges."

The first secretary of the Province Committee stressed the importance and constructive nature of the conference's deliberations. He expressed the conviction that its participants and, along with them, the entire province party organization, shall implement in a worthy and thorough manner the provisions of the conference's resolution.

The deliberations of the Province Reports Conference in Gorzow ended with the singing of "The Internationale."

Marian Orzechowski's Speech

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 267Jan 83 p 2

[Report: "Speech of M. Orzechowski, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee (Paraphrased)"]

[Text] We ask ourselves, what path has been traveled by our party in the last 18 months since the reports-and-election campaign preceding the 9th PZPR Congress and during the more than 13 months since the martial law had been introduced. Today, from the vantage point of these 13 months, we can clearly see that this was not an episode, not a fleeting experience in the life of our party and nation, but a phenomenon with durable consequences lasting beyond the period of the duration of the martial law.

It is becoming a universal belief that the martial law was a historical necessity. This also gives rise to the reflection that the martial law could have been introduced differently, that the need to save the state and socialism could have been used to follow e.g. the South American pattern by suspending all civic

rights, the Constitution, and the political parties. After all, such proposals and suggestions had been made in October 1981 when the 4th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee obligated the Politburo to resort to extraordinary means when the need and occasion arise. Hence, it should be borne in mind that we introduced the martial law in the Polish manner.

What does it mean, in the Polish manner? Does this imply some megalomania, some chauvinism?

Above all, the martial law was introduced with our own forces, with the forces of the structures of the socialist state, whose fundamental obligation toward its citizens and itself is the protection of its own ability to fulfill constitutional tasks. I believe that we have reason to feel proud at having been able to oppose the forces of the Polish counter-revolution in December 1981 with our own forces, the forces of the Polish revolution.

Secondly, martial law Polish style means martial law in the majesty of the law. Legally operating institutions have, by virtue of the Constitution, introduced extraordinary laws in order to restore true greatness to laws being violated and broken, to restore the significance and meaning of these laws, that is, to restore a situation in which the law is the law.

Thirdly, martial law Polish style means that the party, while entrusting to the army a definite role and tasks, has not abandoned the strategy of the 9th Congress --the strategy which was elaborated in the resolutions of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee. And yet such temptations did exist. There existed temptations for abandoning a fundamental goal of the strategy of the 9th Congress after 13 December: the strategy of [national] agreement. I believe that both the present generation and history will render justice to our party for not having abandoned the road of [national] agreement, and to its leadership for not letting itself be pushed off that road, despite, as we know, attacks from the right and left. Lastly, under this martial law Polish style the party did not lose its feeling of effectiveness and was conscious of being weakened.

Today as we look back at those 13 months we realize that we have traveled a long and difficult road.

We began the economic reform under the unfortunate and tremendous handicap of having to introduce it in an unnatural situation, in the presence of a crisis, considering that the reform should have been introduced already at the moment when the first manifestations of economic disorder arose. But we are introducing it anyway. From the very outset we have been repeating that this is the only chance for the Polish economy, that there is no other chance, even though during its initial stage and long afterward still we as consumers will appraise the reform through the prism of the price operations.

Other milestones on the road traveled are the consistent implementation of the systemic reforms proclaimed at the 9th Congress, as resulting in the extensive and antlike, even, activities of the Parliament.

Yet another attendant factor is the explicit collapse of the strategy of the underground [opponent] designed for universal confrontation and our and the country's retreat to the situation prior to 13 December.

Other milestones are the stages of the recovery of strength by our party and the recovery of its belief in its own power and rationale. This raises the question of what are the main sources of the process of the rebirth within our party and of its accomplishments so far?

Here the main role was played by fidelity to the line of the 9th Congress, the line of struggle and agreement--a difficult but also the sole effective line as it turned out. This determination and its already apparent consequences are symptomatic.

We had a clear program. The opposition was unable to oppose the program of the 9th Congress with any coherent and realistic constructive program. Especially after August 1981 the opposition, immediately after the Congress, promoted consistently only a program for destruction, having no other program.

M. Orzechowski further stated that we still face a long and arduous road. The opponent still exists. He is weakened but he has not quit.

That is why all the more we must be consistent in implementing the program of the 9th Congress, which already is producing results. The strategy of [national] agreement, of building bridges toward those who are returning to sobriety and beginning to grasp the real interests of Socialist Poland is being followed. We are bound by this strategy also because it is the only rational one under our conditions and is bearing fruit.

Hence the importance of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. But the PRON is not just a one-time campaign but a serious and long-term strategy; and one that is in the fundamental interest of all working people in Poland. Successive political tests await us. In these tests we should not be indifferent toward present and potential allies within society.

In economic matters we must realize that we are dealing not only with the inflationary overhang but also with an investment overhang and with pressures to increase that overhang. Many so-called justified postulates for various investments are being made for spending funds on investments. But little thought is being given to the question of where to obtain these funds. At the same time, more and more worker groups are pressing for wage adjustments. Such is the situation. It will not be possible to meet most of the investment and wage demands: the economy will not withstand this.

In 1983 many political tests await us, but it is almost certain that the performance of the economy, economic results, will be decisive this year. We must prevent uncontrolled events and processes in the economy from nullifying the first effects of the economic reform and the steps to surmount the crisis.

The role of the party organizations and all mature individuals in the economic education of the public is now tremendous, and the related tasks are of primary

importance. The truism that, in order to distribute something, that something must first be available and produced, must become commonly known and understood.

Wladyslaw Jablonski's Speech

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 2

[Report: "Speech of Wladyslaw Jablonski, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers (Paraphrased)"]

[Text] The speaker started by recalling the causes of the market imbalance, stating that in the very near future we will have more money, too, but we will be able to buy less with it. The already difficult situation of the families will not improve in the immediate future.

The amount of money in circulation has increased not only owing to the payments made in the last few months of last year as a result of nationwide wage adjustments. At many plants wage policies have departed from common sense. For how else can the practice of 5- or even 6-month retroactive wage raises be called?

This practice is unknown to any other country. Some of the managers responsible for such decisions refer to the Resolution No 135 of the Council of Ministers. And indeed, that resolution authorizes raising the pay of the workers who contribute to an increase in production. But at many plants wage increases have been introduced for all employees--to an equal degree.

It also happens that those responsible for such practices point to the economic reform and autonomy of enterprises, but this is the best proof that they fail to grasp the meaning and intentions of the reform.

The autonomy of enterprises may not be tantamount to irresponsibility. For how else can we explain the failure of many enterprises to deposit in their bank accounts even one zloty of their profits for the purpose of, e.g. their development funds, and their spending all their profits on wage increases?

Some managers declare that they took such decisions under social pressure and community pressure to avert social tensions at plants. Such arguments are unacceptable.

Altogether, for precisely these reasons we are facing renewed growth of economic difficulties.

We will not allow an uncontrolled increase in prices, as this strikes most painfully families with fixed incomes, pensioners and annuitants, and the lowest wage earners. Unless unjustified payments are halted, it may become necessary and even inevitable to increase prices much above the predicted extent.

Our party must take steps to eliminate this menace. We must mobilize worker teams to exploit all the still existing reserves at plants with the object of expanding production for the market.

As announced, the government will, upon the authorization of the Parliament, shortly offer an emergency anti-inflation program and a program for cutting public outlays. The struggle against speculation and high prices will be intensified, and the promulgation of the anti-monopoly law will be expedited. A law on the enterprises operating in the red also is urgently needed. Whoever performs poorly may not be financed from the [state] budget, that is, by the entire society.

Wl. Jablonski stated that precisely at present all unjustified wage adjustments and uncontrolled money in circulation represent the greatest menace to the economic situation.

For this threatens destabilization and incalculable consequences to the country's social situation. Thus resolute decisions combatting inflation are needed in the immediate future, as is society's understanding of these decisions.

Reports Conference Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Resolution of the PZPR Gorzow Province Reports Conference, Gorzow, 24 January 1983: "Resolution of the PZPR Province Reports Conference in Gorzow"]

[Text] The PZPR Province Reports Conference in Gorzow, held on 24 January 1983, assesses positively the activities so far of the Province Committee, the WKKP and the WKR.

The Conference introduces revisions and additions to the resolution of the Province Program-and-Election Conference of 20 June 1981, and accepts the directions of activity of the province party organization as follows:

1. The Party

The principal direction of action of the province party organization should be the continued restoration of credibility and trust among party members and the public in the party organizations and echelons. To this end it is necessary to:

--strive to strengthen the social nature of the party, assuring the supremacy of elected bodies over executive organs and the party apparatus by working out an appropriate system;

--rebuild direct ties and contacts between echelon members and party organizations in social and occupational communities;

--work out a coherent and infallible system of thorough and rapid flow of intra-party information, on providing the necessary facilities;

--improve the structure and performance of party echelons and apparatus and restore to the POP the role of the most important party element, on paying attention to the great importance of party meetings and committed attitudes of party members;

--care for high criteria of admission of new PZPR members, on especially emphasizing ideological and ethical attitude and the commitment of candidates to occupational and socio-political activities;

--systematically act to strengthen the party's ideological unity and relieve the party of persons violating statutory norms;

--assure that party members in youth organizations dispose of a positive and comprehensive program;

--assure that party echelons and organizations implement consistently the chief assumptions of cadre policy adopted by the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee in November 1981.

Hence, all activities of the province and local echelons will be focused on implementing recommendations and resolutions and on the individualized work of party organizations with party members and candidate members.

2. Ideological and Propaganda Activities

Party organizations and echelons will focus their work on shaping the socialist consciousness of not only party members, with special stress to be placed on:

--shaping socialist internationalism among broad circles of society, strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship;

--shaping patriotic attitudes of the youth as part of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army;

--providing the conditions for the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, trade unions and self-government as planes for public dialogue and co-participation decisive to the governing of the socialist state;

--acting in the sphere of education and culture in behalf of work with the youth, preservation of the secular nature of educational institutions and increase in the responsibility of educational workers for upbringing the youth;

--improving the information and propaganda activities of the province party organization;

--active counteracting by POPs and party members of instances of anti-socialist propaganda and activity;

--popularization of the progressive traditions of the Polish nation and of the Polish and international worker movement;

--formation of socialist principles of intercourse and counteracting negative aspects of such intercourse;

--development of effective methods for party training, which should be a forum for free discussion and exchange of thoughts and views among party members;

--providing candidate members and junior members of the party with the necessary store of knowledge of the ideological and organizational principles of the Marxist-Leninist party;

--shaping the necessary principles of political culture in the activities of the POPs and party members along with a totally uncompromising attitude and commitment in the struggle against views and attitudes hostile to the party;

--shaping the views and opinions of the public by means of high-level propaganda activities and publicistics committed to the party and socialism in the mass media, particularly in local party press, at radio stations and in the plant press;

--continuing the attempts to increase the circulation and quality of the information transmitted in the central party press.

3. Socialist Democracy

The development of socialist democracy requires further activization of all forms of the socio-political self-government of the working people. Party members are bound to implement the leading role of the party in socio-political and economic life through their activity in public mass organizations and especially in people's councils, PRON elements, trade unions and youth and women's organizations. To this end, it is necessary to:

--strengthen the inspirational function of all party elements with respect to organs of state and economic administration, with special emphasis placed on exploring solutions to fundamental socio-economic problems of the province and implementing the proposals and postulates of the citizenry;

--concentrate attention on the development of self-government forms of activity of the working people and support of the formation and functioning of worker, co-operative, and settlement self-governments, on providing the mechanisms for co-participation in governing and decisionmaking on the principal community problems;

--in accepting the renewal of the trade-union movement, care for a socialist nature of trade unions and support their initiatives in social and economic matters in accordance with their statutes;

--decisively influence the steps being taken by law enforcement authorities to effectively counteract violations of law and order and create a favorable climate for social cooperation in this respect.

4. Socio-Economic Activities

The principal direction of the party's action should be to strengthen the positive tendencies in the socio-economic sphere. The main purposes of economic actions should be halting the deterioration of housing conditions, meeting the food demand more fully and improving the performance of health care, education and environmental protection. In implementing the above tasks it is necessary to:

- support measures to improve the economic reform;
- prompt the state and economic administration to exploit fully the existing economic potential, local raw and other materials, and to intensify production for the market, for agriculture and for exports;
- halt the declining trends in housing construction, provide the conditions for its systematic growth and strive to eliminate the disproportions in the development of the infrastructure;
- monitor the price-setting processes in enterprises and economic units;
- in regard to wage policies, initiate the introduction of new wage systems linking wages to productivity;
- support the activities of worker self-governments, provide a climate of good cooperation with self-governments, social and occupational organizations and scientific-technical organizations;
- strive to improve the performance of passenger and goods transport, communications, communal economy, and increase the interest of state and economic administration in improving environmental protection;
- refine the functioning of trade and support the further development of services;
- inspire actions in behalf of social services for persons existing in the most difficult material situation.

In the fields of agriculture, food management and forestry it is necessary to:

- promote a harmonious development of all forms of farming;
- improve land utilization by providing convenient terms for good producers as regards land purchases and farm enlargements as well as facilitating the process of the bequeathing of farms to young heirs;
- improve the structure of sowings so as to assure a maximum quantity of locally grown fodder needed to develop livestock production;
- provide favorable conditions for the expansion of land reclamation work, improvements in rural water supply, the utilization of sprinkler systems and the expedited development of the valley of the Notec;
- support an expansion of the production of minor agricultural equipment and implements and spare parts in all plants with extra production capacities;
- develop the facilities of the agricultural and food industry and utilize in full the production capacities and all farm product surpluses while at the same time improving the quality of products with the paramount goal of fully meeting the market demand;

--provide favorable conditions for the growth in the activity of the renascent rural self-government and all its organizations, assuring the conditions for their direct influence on the economic and social activities of the countryside and agriculture. This aim will be promoted by a rapid and comprehensive introduction of the Parliamentary bill on trade unions of farmers and agricultural circles and organizations. As regards forestry and the logging industry, the aim should be a rational utilization of timber, protection of forests and improvements in the living conditions of personnel.

Regarding the satisfaction of the basic needs of society, it is necessary to:

--improve health care in the province, refine the organizational structures and utilize medical personnel properly. Proper importance should be attached to basic health care and good working conditions provided;

--place special emphasis on improving social services and health care for large families that are morally and economically neglected as well as for elderly, ill and lonely people;

--monitor the just distribution of market goods, inspiring public supervision and inspections in this respect, struggle against manifestations of speculation and illegal trade, and develop the facilities for collective feeding;

--strive to assure as rapidly as possible a place in the preschool for all children 5 and 6 years old;

--expedite the pace of the work on the design, construction, modernization and expansion of school facilities.

The Conference approves the recommendations submitted by the WKKP and WKR and recommends their implementation to the Province Committee. At the same time, the Province Reports Conference places the Executive Board of the Province Committee under the obligation of examining the proposals made during the discussion and informing within one month the plenum of the PZPR Province Committee and the concerned parties about the manner in which these proposals are attended to.

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KIELCE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Preparations for Reports Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 2

[Article: "Deliberations of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee Executive Board; the Province's Economic Plan; Preparations for Province Reports Conference; Trade Union Affairs"]

[Text] At yesterday's meeting of the Executive Board of the Kielce PZPR KW [Province Committee], the draft of the province's 1983 socioeconomic development plan and budget were reviewed. This draft will be the subject of the February meeting of the Province People's Council. The KW Executive Board was informed that the draft has been discussed at many workplaces, by various social and professional groups and by associations of agricultural organizations and circles.

During the course of these consultations, the province's goals were met with general approval and attention was focused on the following: it is believed that projected investments are too low relative to work already initiated, that market production and services for the people should increase more dynamically, and that more attention should be paid to realizing education and health service tasks. This applies to new facilities as well as repairs. Much attention was devoted to the problems of agriculture, the more efficient use of resources designated for its development, and to realism in evaluating production capabilities and purchasing of food articles. During these consultations, the most concern was expressed over housing construction. All indications are that in 1983 the scope of this construction in Kielce Province will increase by 20,000-30,000 square meters.

After reviewing the plan, the KW Executive Board stated that work should not be stretched out in time, and no new investments should be undertaken which do not have a chance for fast execution. Central plan investments should be piloted more effectively than heretofore. And financing should be sought only for those investments that can provide rapid economic and production results. However, political and organizational steps should also be taken simultaneously to assure the most effective realization of tasks facing the province.

The KW Executive Board also discussed yesterday the status of preparations for the province program-reports conference to be held this February. The Board also received information on the current sociopolitical situation in the province and devoted attention to the expansion of trade unions. In Kielce over 460 initiating groups and 240 charter committees are now active, in which almost 3,500 trade union activists are operating. Over 37,000 people have joined the new trade unions. The KW Executive Board emphasized that a favorable climate should be created for the new unions and their activities in the plants in order to increase their influence in all areas of life and in shaping proper relations between plant directorates and their workforces. The unions cannot exceed their authority by controlling the prices of their products and work output. The standard of living and social conditions of working people will depend to a great extent on their productivity. The proper functioning of trade unions will also affect what is called very briefly the political atmosphere in production plants and in the entire province.

Plenum on Reports-Programs Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Before the Province Reports-Programs Conference is Held; the Kielce PZPR KW Plenum, Critical of Itself and Others"]

[Text] Yesterday's plenary meeting of the Kielce PZPR KW was dedicated to discussing and finalizing the contents of documents for the Province Reports-Programs Conference. Members of province party echelons also learned ways and means of resolving complaints and grievances directed to the PZPR KW.

Participating in the discussions were: members and alternate members of the Kielce PZPR KW, members of presidiums of Province Revision Commissions and Province Commissions on Party Control, the first secretaries of local party echelons, and directors of regional centers for party operations. Also in attendance were: Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Revision Commission, and Jerzy Wojcik, deputy director of the Central Committee Cadre Department.

Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Kielce KW opened the deliberations by recalling the most important political events shaping the sociopolitical situation in the country and party in the period since the 1981 reports-elections conferences and meetings. During this time, the secretary said, the country and Kielce province experienced various events. A period of hope and renewal began with the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. However, as a result of attacks by antisocialist forces, this process deteriorated rapidly and stopped only with the decision to declare martial law. This decision initiated a return to law and order throughout the entire country and permitted many basic party and social organizations to regenerate slowly.

M. Luczynski said that today's meeting of the province party echelon should promote the finalization of documents for the Province Reports-Programs conference that were generated at meetings and conferences held by local party

echelons and basic party organizations. These documents should reflect all activities and initiatives of the PZPR province organization.

Marian Surma, KW secretary, discussed the report on the Kielce Province PZPR Reports-Program Conference. A summary of his paper is printed nearby.

Then, Tadeusz Truchan, vicechairman of the KW Commission on Public Suggestions, Complaints and Signals provided some information on resolving the complaints and grievances directed to the PZPR KW. Among other things, he stated:

"The resolutions passed by the 10th Central Committee Plenum focused greater attention on the subject of letters and complaints from members of echelons, the party apparatus and the aktiv. This is reflected in the frequent consideration devoted to this problem at plenary and executive board meetings. Actions were initiated to strengthen the links between the managerial cadres and the public, as well as to resolving citizens' concerns more effectively. The results of the party-official meetings in the administration were discussed at echelon executive board meetings; in addition, the attitudes of the managerial cadres in resolving intervention problems were evaluated.

"The above-mentioned steps had the effect of increasing the accountability of party members, managerial cadres, and state and economic administrators in resolving complaints, postulates and suggestions, and also raised the importance of these matters in the totality of party and administrative work. However, activity to eliminate the causes of people's complaints and discontents continues to be unsatisfactory. While it is true that the number of complaints directed to the province office have decreased, the number of complaints made to party echelons, military operational groups and the mass media was significant.

"Last year 1,371 complaints and letters were received by the PZPR KW (9 percent fewer than in 1981). However, the number of people with various intervention problems increased. Over 1,000 were received, that is 300 more than in 1981. The reception room of the PZPR KW is staffed each day with KW political workers. The KW secretary also interviews people with problems. For example, last year Maciej Luczynski, the first secretary, saw over 150 citizens.

"Last year 730 letters and complaints, 300 more than 1981, were received by the gmina and urban councils; in addition, over 7,700 people with various intervention problems were interviewed. On the one hand, the flow of so many problems is proof of increased trust in the party. On the other hand, it is a sign of the many injustices occurring in many areas of life.

"Most letters and complaints directed to the KW concern agriculture and food management, and relations at workplaces are the second most-mentioned subject. These complaints and letters concern injustices in the area of dismissals from work, wages and premiums, mismanagement, improper attitudes of managerial cadres and the like. The problem of housing and communal economy stand out sharply in correspondences to the KW and local echelons. Poor supplies, the poor functioning of trade and the growth of speculation are other subjects mentioned.

"In conformity with the resolution of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, the KW Commission on Public Suggestions, Complaints and Signals has taken on the organizing, coordination-control, inspirational and instructional functions with regard to party echelons and organizations. Last year Commission members monitored the resolution of letters and complaints at 12 local echelons and at 6 urban and gmina offices. The resolution of problems of sick and incapacitated people were investigated. The Commission is collaborating with the Province People's Council commission that is concerned with the same problem. Members of the KW Commission were also involved with the investigations of resolution of complaints at local offices, plants and institutions that were conducted by the WKKP [Province Party Control Committee] and the WKR [District Military Headquarters].

"The Commission on Suggestions and Complaints also worked with the PZPR urban and urban-gmina committees. Permanent groups are located at 34 gmina echelons. They prepare material for echelon and executive board meetings, investigate some complaints, and monitor the system for their resolutions in offices and plants.

"To guarantee proper reviews of letters and complaints, the scope of subjects investigated directly by the aktiv and party apparatus workers has been expanded. For example, of the 1,371 letters and complaints received last year by the KW, 786 were investigated and resolved directly by aktiv and echelon workers and 595 were forwarded for resolution by the proper organs, institutions and organizations.

"Of the letters and complaints received by the Kielce KW in 1982, it turned out that 41 percent of the total were completely or partially justified. As a result of interventions by party echelons, 31 percent of all the problems were resolved favorably. The reports of local committees indicate that almost 50 percent of the complaints they received were justified, of which about 40 percent were resolved favorably.

"From the generalizations of the problems mentioned in the letters and complaints received by the KW Board and local echelons, conclusions are developed vis-a-vis the development of operating plans. In light of the large number of suggestions and complaints concerning housing construction, type of housing and the like, the KW Executive Board thought it would be advisable to consider these problems in their entirety at the KW plenary session. As is known, tasks to resolve problems in the area of dividing up building sites, developing single-family building sites, improving the system for allocating housing and the like have been outlined in the resolution passed by the KW. Similar subjects were also considered at plenary sessions of some local echelons.

"The situation in the area of responding to problems referred to in letters, complaints and verbal interventions has improved. The resolutions of the Central Committee Ninth Plenum and the numerous management personnel changes in plants, institutions and local administrations had an effect on this. Some improvement can be seen in the approach to these problems at the Province Office and at some key plants, but less so at some institutions. There are still

indications of improper responses to criticisms and bureaucratic solutions to the problems and concerns of many citizens."

Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Revision Commission, spoke next.

The speaker spoke in detail about the one and a half years of the present administration. He emphasized that it was a very difficult time in the nation's history and in party activity. Political enemies attacked the program developed at the 10th Party Congress, sowed confusion and unrest in the country, and organized strikes and street demonstrations. The aim of this enemy activity was to disorganize life, cause chaos and anarchy, and shatter law and order. It finally led to a state of alarm. Solidarity's leaders resolutely rejected all attempts at reaching an agreement. We were on the brink of civil war. Martial law rescued peace in the country and perhaps even in Europe. Then the laborious consolidation of the party rank and file began. The subsequent Central Committee plenary session expanded the process of disciplining the party.

Democracy and centralism in the party once again began to take on a real luster; the party closed ranks; it strengthened itself. However, one must admit frankly and clearly that weakness still exists in the party, and even though the enemy was wounded, he only changed his methods.

The expanding Church-state dialogue is one of the exceptional pluses in our life.

In 1982 some progress has been made in many areas of our life, and the authorities did not make any big mistakes, although it is obvious that mistakes have not been eliminated completely. The time has come for real work at all levels; our future depends on it.

Comrade K. Morawski also dedicated much time to the role of control in party, administrative and economic life. The party is changing from a directive to a political action style, most of all via the basic party organizations in factories and institutions. The party, of course, is meeting some resistance to the change. Much will be required especially of people in management positions who obtained these positions at the recommendation of the party. It is necessary to heed timely warnings against errors, distortions, tendencies toward empty words and bragging about one's successes. Every party member is obligated to heed this criticism because he actually represents the party. The energetic, boldly operating basic party organizations are the strength of the PZPR.

The Plenum unanimously passed the resolution to accept the material presented for the Kielce PZPR Reports-Program Conference. Conference bylaws also were approved; deliberations are scheduled to take place 12 February.

As the last speaker, Maciej Lubczynski, PZPR KW first secretary, emphasized that the documents for the upcoming conference were the subject of many consultations. All detailed comments, conclusions and postulates that were put forth will be considered and presented to the delegates for their action.

During the plenum, M. Lubczynski, KW first secretary, expressed his thanks in the name of the echelons to Maria Olkusknik who had retired recently after 30 years of directing the Kielce Polish Broadcasting Station.

Regarding organizational matters, the themes of the 1983 PZPR KW plenary sessions were determined. In association with its involvement with economic administration operations, the plenum approved the KW Executive Board decision to relieve Stanislaw Nowak of his functions as director of the KW Socioeconomic Department and Antoni Baryla as director of Socioagricultural Department of the province echelons.

The plenary session ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Party Organization in Kielce

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 83 p 3

[Article: "A Summary of PZPR KW Executive Board Paper on Activities of Kielce Province Party Organization Since June 1981"]

[Text] We began our activities in an exceptionally tense and dangerous sociopolitical situation. All events of the Polish crisis were used to attack the socialist state. The rash activities of Solidarity extremists, their gross propaganda and their pressures on workers and rural residents devastated the minds of citizens, disturbed the peace and divided families and workforces. The one and a half years of rolling toward anarchy, the danger of food shortages and the constant social pressures brought great suffering to all people.

The introduction of martial law initiated the renewal of state institutions, the return to legal order and normal rhythms of operations in enterprises. The party's operating style also changed. In the party itself, from the very start of the present term of office to the present, the following important events stood out in the reports-elections meetings and conferences:

the invigoration and growth of activity of many party members, but indications of demagogy also increased;

objective discussions, but indications of ideological deviations;

the appointment of many new and ambitious activists, but also the unjustified removal of people who worked without reward for the party and the people;

the clearing of innocent people accused of various abuses, but also the issuing of unjustified accusations.

We had to deal with such phenomena in various places, especially in the larger urban centers.

The invigoration of the party's rank and file and the many hopes of the people were initiated during the period of preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary

Party Congress and during the Congress itself. The participation of Kielce's delegates in the Congress' deliberations was constructive and responsible. In the fall of 1981 we fought for unity of action among the party's ranks, mutual cooperation and aid among the older aktiv and experienced activists from various groups of young party activists.

After martial law was announced, many of the most dedicated and experienced members of the party aktiv rallied about the local echelons. They cooperated with the organs of law and public order. Under the new conditions, it was necessary to evaluate the political situation in many party organizations. It was necessary to induce many comrades belonging to Solidarity to reexamine themselves. In the period preceeding the declaration of martial law and just after its introduction, tens of thousands of party members resigned from Solidarity.

In our province 8,929 individuals were purged from the party, primarily for indifference, lack of interest in party work, and also as a result of resigning from further affiliation with the PZPR. Five hundred and forty-seven individuals were expelled for duplicity, improper political attitudes, insincerety vis-a-vis the party, and breaking the law. At the same time, 2,697 individuals were accepted into the party as new or candidate members. Most of them were from Kielce, Ostrowiec, Skarzysk, Sitkowiec and Pinczow, and the majority of them are workers.

In party work, we are devoting much attention to expanding and strengthening our contacts with factory workers. To this end, members of the Politburo, Central Committee secretaries, KW secretaries and KW executive board members visited many workplaces to meet with workers, in addition to meeting with many social and youth organizations.

We were the inspiration for social commission actions and economic reforms in plants. We corrected the method for resolving people's complaints, problems and suggestions. We became more involved in worker's social and living problems and the proper allocation of promotions, premiums and awards.

The reports period was marked by many cadre changes. Over 200 individuals, that is over 65 percent, resigned from elected functions and the permanent apparatus. Some of these people could not cope with the new tasks, others went into retirement or on physical disability. This allowed many dedicated and involved comrades to assume political work.

The reports campaign conducted in the fall of 1982 was the next stage for strengthening the party. In an atmosphere that was better than the previous year, the political attitudes of all party cells and comrades were evaluated. Weaknesses also were exposed. Three hundred and twenty-four individuals were purged and expelled; at the same time over 90 candidates were accepted into the party.

The party's ideological and ideological-indoctrinational activities were subject to extensive modification. Lately, many comrades have learned something about the essentials of political combat. We have initiated new forms of

propaganda and improved the flow of information within the party. The systematic publishing of FAKTY I OPINIE [Facts and Opinions] and BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY [Information Bulletin] among others served this end. With regard to political and ideological-indoctrinational activities, the accomplishments of the 9th Congress, the traditions of the Polish labor movement and current sociopolitical problems were publicized in all party cells and in many public circles. The stagnation in all forms of party training has been overcome. A new group of lecturers consisting of 142 individuals has been formed in the province in addition to the formation of a 146-member team for regional centers party work.

We acknowledge and value the activities of our army and militia. Party organizations provided support, especially in the battle to restore peace in the streets and workplaces, and in the battle against speculation.

Party work is especially valuable when it goes beyond internal matters and resolves problems rankling the people. Undoubtedly, the socioeconomic problems in the workplaces and in the rural areas, and party collaboration with all allied forces are such problems. Overcoming the crisis and improving supplies to the people were the primary tasks assumed by all party echelons and organizations. The primary trend of party activity in the economic sphere was to introduce economic reforms and undertake all actions associated with them. During the last period, this included the forming of trade unions and activating worker self-governments. One hundred trade union organizations have already been registered. About 37,000 individuals have already joined the new unions.

In the latest period the situation in the rural areas was difficult, the result of an inconsistent agricultural policy in the past, a shortage of resources for agricultural production, the small-production nature of our agriculture, and the destructive activity of Rural Solidarity. In this area, very often the party was the only political force and source of inspiration. Our actions were supported by ZSL cells. The initiatives of province authorities to initiate additional agricultural production were inconclusive. This is one of the tasks that must be realized consistently, despite all the difficulties.

Under the current conditions characterized by numerous social divisions and decreased trust in the authorities, national reconciliation and an alliance with all who support and respect our country's constitutional and political principles are the party's strategic goals. On the party's initiative, cells of citizens' committees for national renewal have been formed. In mid-1982 they finally formulated the form for PRON and the 45-member PRON Provisional Province Council. Presently, 223 PRON cells are operating within the province. Many social organizations, as well as schools, institutions, and labor groups have volunteered to work with it. The commissions for collaboration of the party and other political parties, local as well as provincial, became active. These commissions discuss problems related to communal management, small manufacturing, handicrafts, rural social problems, construction and production of construction material, and law and public order.

Contracts between party echelons and youth organizations have increased. In the party's province organization we have 17,000 members who are under 30. We are relying on their singular activity in youth organization work.

The reports period in the party helped primary school organizations and school directors to properly evaluate teacher and indoctrinational activities. Negative phenomena have also occurred in school operations, including lack of collaboration between parent organizations and the schools, the weaknesses of youth organizations, the destructive influence on young people of the environment outside the classrooms and the like. The initiatives undertaken by party organizations and the education administration will help the teacher cadres to truly realize socialist indoctrinational goals.

We are noting results, though still insufficient, in the operations of state administration cells. Slow but visible progress is being made in the functioning of administrative departments, improving the level of services to the citizens, and in coordinating socioeconomic tasks. The prevailing outlook of the cadres had an influence on this. The consolidation of positive changes in state administration organs to a great extent depends on its basic party organization activists.

We are witnessing an increase in activity among a significant number of party members, its cells and individual organizations, among people rallying around the party, people who are valuable and conscientious, in bolder action by the party for its own benefit, expanding and strengthening contacts with the people. This is an irrefutable accomplishment. A critical evaluation of our activities permits improvements in these activities and the demarcation of new tasks.

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KATOWICE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Executive Board on Ideological Education

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (il): "The Session of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Katowice: The Ideological Indoctrination Must Be Improved"]

[Text] The program of activities adopted by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR has set forth that the strengthening of the party and its unanimity as well as organizational capacity and efficacy are intrinsically connected with the continuing raising of the ideological and political level of members and candidate members of the PZPR. The forms and methods of activities conducted by the Voivodship Ideological Indoctrination Center [WOKI], in cooperation with the Provincial Committee departments and party agencies, was the subject of discussion of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Katowice that took place on 27 January 1983.

After 19 August 1980, the elements of the ideological indoctrination system of the provincial party organization have been largely undermined. A number of the ground-level party organizations managed to maintain regular educational work. The activities of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism appears to be in better shape, even though the number of subjects offered and the number of students have decreased. For the most part, educational work at local enterprises' centers of ideological education has stopped, and the number of people conducting party education has decreased. Due to certain political and organizational conditions, WOKI has long since not met the expectations and needs of the Provincial Committee and the party organizations of the Katowice Province.

The Executive Board approved the principal guidelines of activity for WOKI for 1983. This work should be based on a better utilization of the ideological aktiv, as well as the available material base. It should revitalize the practice-proven organizational structures and fill them with ideological and political substance. A number of individual steps have been adopted for implementation to improve the efficacy of WOKI. The urban, district and enterprise centers of ideological education work will be revived and mainly subordinated to the Katowice WOKI. Screening, selection and training of the cadre of ideological education will be done in consultation with the

PZPR Provincial Committee. The activity of the local branches of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism will be improved. The tradition of semi-annual meetings of the PZPR Provincial Committee leadership and province government with the outstanding lecturers, teachers and propagandists in the Katowice Province will be restored. The FAKTY bulletin, published by the PZPR Provincial Committee, will regularly carry materials that will be helpful for smaller ground-level party organizations in the educational work. The ideological education base developed over the years by the aktiv of the province is extremely valuable, and its use should be enlarged; at the same time, the collections of audiotapes, slides, films and charts should be updated on a current basis.

The Executive Board decided to broaden the scope of educational activity within individual communities. The public council of WOKI, which has an important say in the educational work, is to have an enlarged membership that will include outstanding political workers, scientists, economic managers, journalists and educators. The personnel and financial issues relevant to ideological education will be straightened out. The Executive Board has set up a commission to supervise the implementation of these decisions.

The Executive Board discussed the preparation for the coming Plenary Session of the PZPR Provincial Committee, which will evaluate the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee as regards complaints, grievances and suggestions submitted by the public; it approved the materials to be presented at the reports and programming conference of the provincial party organization.

The session was chaired by Professor Zbigniew Messner, a member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, First Secretary of the Katowice PZPR Provincial Committee. The session was attended by a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a worker of Siemianowice mine, Comrade Jerzy Romanik.

Joint PZPR-ZSL-SD Commission on Unions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 4 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (bak): "Session of the Joint PZPR-ZSL-SD Commission: Issues of New Trade Unions. Actions Taken on Citizens Complaints and Suggestions"]

[Text] Yesterday, on 3 February 1983, the current session of the Joint Provincial PZPR-ZSL-SD Commission, attended by members of the governing bodies of these organizations, took place at the ZSL Provincial Committee headquarters in Katowice.

The participants heard a report on current situation with organizing the trade union movement at enterprises in the Katowice Province, as well as with revitalizing workers' self-government bodies, as well as as a reform of self-government in the countryside--in unions of farmers' rings and organizations--as seen in the context of the letter of the Central Joint

PZPR-ZSL-SD Commission circulated last December to all units and agencies of the PZPR and other parties regarding cooperation in the building of a strong socialist state.

By the end of January 1983, initiator groups or founding committees of new trade unions were operative already at 1510 enterprises in the Katowice Province; altogether, the unions number now approximately 140,000 members. The Provincial Court at Katowice has registered 507 trade union organizations, and another 87 expect registration. A positive assessment has been made of the activities conducted thus far, as well as the efforts already undertaken by the new unions on workers' personal and professional matters. Pointing out that the level of development of the union movement varies, the conviction was voiced that the effects of the work of union organizations on matters closely concerning the working people and creation of a climate of encouragement and support by the activists of political and public organizations, as well as by management and managerial staff of the individual enterprises, will be conducive to strengthening of the authority and role of the new trade union movement amid the workers, breaking down the still existing wait-and-see and mistrustful attitudes.

Also in the countryside, the ongoing reports and election campaign in farmers' circles and registration of farmers' organizations in accordance with the December resolution of the PRL congress supports the feeling of public security among the population, persuading it to adhere to the agricultural policies advanced by the PZPR and ZSL.

The Provincial Joint Commission heard and discussed the report by the Provincial Government on the practices and procedures for dealing with the complaints and suggestions from the population.

The relatively large percentage of justified cases or complaints (a positive decision in 1982 was taken on 42 percent of complaints submitted), as well as the fact that nearly 4,000 administrative decisions by ground-level agencies were overruled, show that the resolution of the numerous personal problems by administration still leaves much to be desired. The need was emphasized for further improvement of the local administrative work and actions to eliminate the sources of a number of justified complaints and suggestions by the population of the Katowice Province. These issues will be discussed at the next Plenary Session of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Katowice.

The Provincial Administration presented data on the current election campaign of people's assessors to courts, as well as members of public boards for matters of law violation in the Katowice Province. A number of conclusions concerning the subject discussed at the meeting have been formulated.

The Thursday session of the Joint Commission was attended by PZPR Provincial Committee representatives: member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau, First Secretary of the Katowice Provincial Committee of the PZPR Zbigniew Messner; PZPR Provincial Provincial Committee Secretaries Marian Rauszer, Bogumil Ferensztajn and Jan Zielinski;

representatives of the ZSL Provincial Committee: Chairman of the ZSL Provincial Committee Marian Karasek, Secretary of the ZSL Provincial Committee Jan Gregorczyk and Vice-President of the ZSL Provincial Committee Tadeusz Puchala and member of the ZSL Provincial Committee Presidium, Deputy Province Chief Josef Zbieszczyk; and representatives of the SD Provincial Committee: Chairman of the SD Provincial Committee Jerzy Jozwiak, Secretary of the SD Provincial Committee Jerzy Rusecki, Deputy Chairman of the SD Provincial Committee Julian Stepien and member of the SD Provincial Committee Presidium Boleslaw Noculak. The Katowice Province Chief, Air Force Division General Roman Paszkowski attended the session.

Plenum on Reports Conference Preparation

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "PZPR Provincial Committee Plenum in Katowice Evaluated the Efficacy of Resolution of Citizens' Complaints and Signals. Materials to Provincial Reports Conference Approved. Strengthening Public Justice Reinforces the Authority of and Trust in the Party"]

[Text] The efficacy of actions taken by party agencies in solving the life problems of the working people described in their letters and complaints was the subject of discussions at the first part of the Plenary Session of the PZPR Provincial Committee on 7 February 1983. In the second part of the session, which was chaired by Zbigniew Messner, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Provincial Committee, the Plenum approved the materials to be presented at the Provincial Reports Conference. The session was attended by Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, and Jerzy Romanik, worker of Siemianowice mines. In attendance were representatives of the allied parties, ZSL and SD, as well as the political activists of city-district and district party agencies, as well as some local enterprise party organizations.

The report of the Executive Board was presented by Henryk Badura, member of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, and chairman of the Provincial Committee Commission on Letters, Complaints and Suggestions of the Population.

Provincial Committee Executive Board Report

The report emphasized that the shortest way for restoring the trust in and authority of the party is a rapid and efficient response to instances of injustice and distortions reported by the working teams and various public circles. Creation of an atmosphere of concern favoring a swift response to the needs of the working people should be viewed as a party-

spirited activity, urging into action the responsible state and self-government agencies.

The importance of these matters in party activities is underscored by the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee relating to actions taken on letters and complaints of the population received by all party agencies and organizations. The importance was stressed of a thorough scrutiny and efficient response to complaints, as essential for implementing the program of the Ninth Party Congress.

In 1982, more than 3,100 letters and almost 2,200 personal solicitations were received by the PZPR Provincial Committee, that is, one-third more than in 1981. The majority of solicitations concerned housing problems, shortages in technical infrastructure, underdevelopment of communal services and delays in the development of trade and services.

Complaints are also received regularly by the editors of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. On the contrary, a smaller number of complaints are submitted to agencies of state administration. An expression of a lack of trust of the citizens for local agencies is the constant tendency in submitting complaints to higher level authorities or central media. Only 50 percent of complaints in the Katowice Province come immediately from individuals. An overwhelming majority of cases returned by central institutions and administrative agencies to the province had been improperly resolved by the local agencies. Facts of neglect by lower agencies of citizens' affairs and a bureaucratic approach in treating them are also confirmed by analysis of complaints submitted to higher party agencies. One is surprised, therefore, at the fact that no conclusions are drawn in regard to individuals neglecting their official duties.

The report further discussed the actions aimed at doing away with the existing shortages and improving the style of work. The PZPR Provincial Committee and regional party agencies proceed, among other things, from the principle that a secretary of the Provincial Committee should be on call and available to all visitors for broader contacts with the population. The Secretary of the Provincial Committee is on call through the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA telephone; in addition, open meetings of provincial authorities are held at major industrial enterprises.

In September 1982, by decision of the Provincial Committee Secretariat, an intervention commission was set up to probe matters of particular importance. A surveillance and control commission is active, which oversees the implementation of decisions and monitors the proper resolution of citizens' problems by the responsible administrative and economic agencies.

The report concluded that in order to attain the desired effects in dealing with the life problems of working people it is necessary for all party members to be sensitive to these issues. The subject is to be discussed again at one of the coming plenary sessions of the Provincial Committee.

Discussion

A great number of participants pointed out the correlations existing between the number of submitted complaints and the occurrence of particular social problems in individual communities. From analysis of these complaints, noted Tadeucz Siwik, the executive boards should draw conclusions as to proper programming of the work for party organizations, so that not only individual cases can be settled, but that the sources of conflict and discontent can be eliminated. At the same time, one should pay attention to communities where no complaints are received, as this may be due either to the fact that the local party organization there has no authority, or that it is autocratic leadership methods that prevail there, causing obstacles to criticism.

Important for a public evaluation of response to complaints and grievances is the principle that the conflicts should be resolved where they have arisen. This was discussed by Rudolf Szary, who noted that in this respect the foreman's role at the factory is increased. Both supervisors and ground-level party secretaries should be required to conduct current analysis of the factors responsible for discontent in their working groups, and sensitivity to these issues should be an important element in evaluating the cadre.

The procedures for resolution of citizens' complaints by administrative agencies and institutions give particular cause for dissatisfaction. Along with the low administrative culture cited by those submitting complaints, pointed out Andrzej Jaskolski, the proper public criticism is frequently caused by poor knowledge of regulations on the part of officials dealing with complaints, absence of control of their work and indefinite criteria for identification of issues which cannot be settled for objective reasons. Replies to those submitting complaints too often are purely formal, stated Jerzy Sateja, and, as a result, people poorly discharging their official duties can operate with complete impunity. Another frequent cause for complaint is the lack of proper information on the procedures for resolution of problems by government agencies and on workers' rights. Among other things, this is evidenced by complaints received by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, as discussed by Jerzy Bieronski.

Other speakers in the discussion were Boleslaw Skotnicki, Henryk Gorny, Jozef Mofina, Wladyslaw Wozniak, Wlodzimierz Stefanski, Stefan Kaczmarek, Jozef Wsol and Henryk Pietka.

Speech by Mirosław Milewski

The activities of the party after the Ninth Congress are conducted consistently in two directions. One is a broad openness to the public, elimination of the evil and development of what is currently referred to as renewal and for party members means return to Leninist standards of party life. The other direction is concern for injustices inflicted on people, rebuff to everything that is contrary to the socialist system and the interests of our state and a resolute struggle against such phenomena.

In reference to the first part of the Plenum, M. Milewski noted that it provided an exhaustive description of the problems in complaints and suggestions. Settlement of these problems promotes cohesiveness, increases trust in party activities and helps implement the program of the Ninth Congress.

Compared with 1981, the number of letters to the Central Committee appealing for salvation of the socialist motherland has greatly decreased--the introduction of martial law had fulfilled the expectation of effective defense of the nation's highest values. The number of requests for intervention in individual cases, however, has grown considerably. They are frequently written by people of a different world outlook, who often say that "if the party does not help, that means that there is no justice in Poland." This means that the restoration of trust in the strength of the party is under way.

While implementing the Resolution of the Ninth Congress, perceiving the problems at an early time, doing away with injustice and unfairness where this is possible, one should also help those who committed mistakes. In comparing existing needs with the possibilities, it should be remembered that for pulling the nation out of the crisis each thoughtful head and each pair of hands are necessary. For this reason, a great opportunity lies with the currently unfolding Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], and the trade unions being created from the grass roots. The party will not resign its concern for proper functioning of trade unions. For the takeover of the unions by anarchists in 1981 we will have to pay for years ahead, but we cannot admit a recurrence of this situation, we cannot admit subversion of the principles of our system.

Returning to the issue of complaints and suggestions, Comrade Milewski stressed the need to coordinate the initiatives and evaluations of activities of administrative and party agencies, which sometimes calls for changing faulty decisions that have been made. He also noted that the role of higher and ground-level party agencies should be inspirational to an even greater extent, especially as concerns the attitudes towards people and the skill of patient clarification of complicated cases. One should scrutinize with a great thoroughness the signals reporting violations of the principles of social justice, remembering at the same time that law should not be violated, even if sometimes it is not perfect.

A large proportion of the problems which were resolved under martial law by the army must now be taken over by the party. These tasks call for detailed analysis, audacity and forbearance. There can be no forbearance, however, in the fight with our political opponents. Currently, alongside boycott slogans, they are appealing to the people to join the trade unions and self-government organizations and to subvert them from within. This is why consistent and convincing actions by the party, particularly in resolving complaints and suggestions, are so important for promoting stabilization.

Summing Up the Session

The problems of complaints and suggestions, as noted in the speech of Z. Messner, is a matter of primary importance for the party work. It is impossible to build a socialist society without resolving the problems of the people, without listening to the voice of the community.

The party activities in this area should not be viewed as actions of a "fashionable type," flowing from the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, but they should be recognized as a duty of systematic work which one should never lose sight of. This concerns all party units and all comrades entrusted with pertinent tasks. The individuals failing to discharge these tasks should bear the consequences.

The method of dealing with complaints and suggestions is extremely significant--these are matters of vital importance for the individuals concerned. When it is impossible to resolve a matter satisfactorily, it is mandatory to provide an understandable explanation of the reasons for the decision taken, for frequently the arrogance of the officials dealing with complaints is perceived as representing the attitude of the authorities.

Plenum Resolution

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Resolution"]

[Text] The Katowice Provincial Committee of the PZPR, having acquainted itself with the report of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, accepts the propositions and conclusions contained in it and recommends them for implementation.

The Plenum ascertains that the activities conducted thus far by the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee in the area of comprehensive resolution of the life problems of working people and in developing a proper procedure for dealing with and resolving the individual cases of the citizens as raised in their letters and complaints should be recognized as appropriate and deserving to be continued.

They serve for the implementation of the Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee and are an important element in the building of public trust in the party, socialist state and its institutions.

The Provincial Committee recognizes that the work of the Provincial Committee's commission on letters, complaints and suggestions from the population was characterized by complete responsibility and properly inspired the work of city, city-village and village committees.

Further control of Provincial Committee departments and agencies of the first level and, through them, control of the work of state administration is, however, necessary.

While perfecting its forms of work and responding to the changing social, political and economic conditions, the provincial party organization should subsequently concentrate attention on resolving the vital problems of the province's population, both as regards the operation of the public services and in long-term resolution of numerous complex problems of the region.

The Provincial Committee is appealing to all party members for strengthening their efforts in performing that task, simultaneously calling attention to the need for organizational reinforcement of this area of party activities and increased involvement of the aktiv and the political workers of the party.

In the Katowice Province, in the face of a great number of sore public problems, a particular sensitivity and care is required to respond to all critical signals and reactions.

Faced with the difficulties of life in the environment of large industrial communities, in seeking means of resolution to their everyday problems, the public comes to the party for help ever more frequently. For this reason, all party units must perform the important role of an organizer of public control and a champion of the interests of the working people in implementing the principles of socialist public justice. This is associated with the continuing concern of the entire party for the observance of the principles of the rule of law in the relations between citizens and the agencies of government administration.

Proceeding from these principles, and taking into account the opinions expressed during the course of the discussion, the Provincial Committee expresses the opinion that in party activities aimed at a just resolution of people's problems and complaints, it is necessary:

1. In all higher level and ground-level party organizations to create a climate of friendliness towards all problems of the people, and develop a proper attitude in relation to suggestions, principles and signals concerning the negative phenomena, proven instances of injustice, etc.
2. Take effective steps toward observing the sources of the incoming complaints and analyzing the methods of their settlement by the responsible agencies and institutions.
3. Most serious requirements in this area should be brought to the attention of the functional aktiv and elected party officials, as well as party authorities, people's councils and party representatives in the PRL Sejm.
4. In response to greater public needs, to maintain direct contacts between the population and the leaders of political and economic life at various levels, as well as decision-makers having a major say in decisions affecting spheres of public life, and continue a cycle of meetings held by the Provincial Committee Executive Board and the government leadership in Katowice Province with workers and other communities.

5. To alert the cadre of the party, state administration and economic leadership to the increased party and functional responsibility for development of proper interpersonal relations, treating people fairly and listening attentively to their suggestions and proposals.

6. To eradicate traits of arrogance among party members in relation to the life problems of the working people raised in letters, complaints and grievances of the population, and submit personal files of such comrades to the Party Control Commission to make them bear the consequences.

7. In ground-level party organization, to take steps toward increasing the feeling of responsibility among the party members for the state of interpersonal relations and the prevailing sentiment among workers. At party meetings, it is necessary to analyze and evaluate the method of responding to complaints and grievances of the workers to be used by administration and present the results of these evaluations to the management of enterprises and organizations.

8. To create at city, city-village and village party organizations, as well as at larger factory committees, party intervention commissions that would draw from the experience of the intervention commission of the Provincial Committee.

9. To adopt, as a principle, that complaints and grievances of the population should be ultimately settled by the party agency to which they have been submitted, or else investigated locally under the control of the agency receiving the complaint.

In order to bring into effect the tasks and suggestions set forth at the current session, the Plenum of the Provincial Committee obligates simultaneously the Province Executive Committee, all regional agencies and party organizations, to creatively carry on the activities in the area of settling the problems of the working people, particularly as following from the complaints and suggestions of the population, with a thought to a continual strengthening of cohesion between the party and the society, and also through participation of PZPR members in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and in trade unions of the working class.

In view of the large number of specific suggestions voiced in the discussion, the Provincial Committee entrusts members of the Executive Board--Henryk Badura, Stanislaw Robenek, Janin Skrzypczak and Andrezej Tomczewski--with the task of separate elaboration of these conclusions from the session's verbatim report in order to present these materials to the Provincial Committee's commission on letters, complaints and signals from the population, and subsequently to the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee for Implementation; this work is to be completed before the end of February 1983.

In order to notify the party members and the public of Katowice Province as to the resolution of the current plenary session, its complete text is to be published in the party press.

Katowice, 7 February 1983

Executive on Reports Campaign Developments

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (jan): "Work Safety in Mines; Research and Development Base; The Reports Campaign in Ground-Level Party Units"]

[Text] Workers in coal mines in Katowice Province are working in increasingly difficult mining and geological conditions involving serious natural hazards. By using the resources of science and engineering, they are fighting such hazards as rock bursts, gas explosions, coal ignition, water intrusion and underground fires. In 1982, further advances have been made to improve the safety conditions in mines.

An indicator of this is a decrease in the number of accidents as compared with 1981. Calculated per 100,000 workdays, its value was 19.6 compared with 24.6 in 1981. Unfortunately, no progress has been registered in the category of most serious, i.e., fatal, accidents.

The work safety in coal mines is an issue of continuing concern on the part of the provincial party administration in Katowice. Yesterday, after approximately six months, the topic was again discussed by the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee. The work safety conditions were evaluated with particular reference to accidents in the Dymitrov mine, on the basis of data presented by the Ministry of Mining and Power Production, as well as by the Supreme Mining Administration.

During the course of the discussion, importance was stressed of undertaking steps by mining inspection and administration of all levels to institute more effective technical and organizational procedures, ensuring more stringent work discipline with compliance of the basic principles and regulations of work safety every day and on each production section. In a situation of increasingly difficult mining and geological conditions and the related greater natural hazards, further improvement of the efficacy of utilization of results of research and development to improve the operation technology, find design concepts and develop procedures to eliminate all kinds of safety and health hazards will become a matter of primary public significance.

The conclusions--supplemented by proposals put forward during the course of the discussion--will be presented for approval by the Executive Board at its next session. This portion of the discussion was attended by members of the management of mining and power production agencies and the Supreme Mining Administration.

The Executive Board then proceeded to evaluate the current situation and proposals for improvement of activities of the research and development base in the Katowice Province, with particular reference to economic reform. The suggestions contained in the submitted materials and summarizing the

experiences and practices of 62 institutes employing approximately 16,000 engineers, technicians and scientists have been put to use in developing the drafts of government regulations. The documents presented at the session will, after being supplemented, be utilized in preparing materials for the Plenary Session of the PZPR Provincial Committee that will be dedicated to the problems of science.

The Executive Board also made an evaluation of the course and results of the political reports campaign under way in ground-level party units and educational activities in the party organizations of the province. The Board heard critical, authentic information on the process of training and the effects of ideological and political mass-scale party education at party agencies during the first half of the 1982/83 academic year; the Board was also briefed on situation with the export of solid fuel in the preceding year.

The session was conducted by Zbigniew Messner, the First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee.

Secretary Marian Rauszer Interview

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 3

[Interview with Marian Rauszer, Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Katowice, by Ireneusz Leczek: "Concrete Support to PZPR Policies Following the Ninth Congress: This Campaign Demonstrated Rebirth of the Party"; date and place not specified.]

[Question] On 21 February 1983, the Provincial Reports Conference of the PZPR will take place in Katowice. It will complete the campaign which, since December 1982 through January 1983, has been conducted by all party units in the Katowice Province. The scope of political and organizational activities must have been gigantic.

[Answer] Numbers evidence this scale. Reports meetings and conferences have been conducted in nearly 8000 party groups, 3873 basic party units, 3510 ground-level party organizations, 232 factory party organizations and 73 city, city-village and village party organizations. At these meetings and conferences, most organizations evaluate the implementation of the tasks set forth in the Resolution of the Central Committee, the resolutions and recommendations approved by the reports and election meetings and conferences before the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. In evaluating the implementation of their own resolutions and recommendations, the meetings and conferences estimated the degree to which they met the requirements of the program of the Ninth Congress.

These evaluations, expanded by experiences gained in the struggle conducted by the party, allowed to map out the directions of activities to the end of the current electoral term. An important task of these conferences was analysis and evaluation of the political situation in party organizations, particularly as regards the work of recommendatory and executive party organs.

[Question] What traits characterized the discussions?

[Answer] Several characteristic traits can be pointed out. Confirming the systematic progress of consolidation and internal strengthening of the party ranks, the improvement of the statutory discipline and the impact of party organizations as well as audacity and outspokenness of participants, the campaign brought to light the advancing stabilization of public sentiment and at the same time revealed how much remains yet to be done. Prepared with a broad involvement of the party activists, the conferences ran smoothly and could boast a large attendance. It should be noted also that the party policies after the Ninth Congress, as further elaborated by the subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee, found support in the campaign, particularly in the working class communities. The principle of inviting to the meetings representatives of other political parties, PRON and activists of public organizations was applied everywhere.

[Question] What subjects were discussed at these meetings and conferences?

[Answer] The speakers expressed approval of the program for emergence from the crisis, while stressing the need for more vigorous action by ground-level party organizations, regional party agencies and enterprise management towards effective implementation of the program of renewal of party life and effective economic reform.

PZPR members were seen everywhere to be concerned, caring about all the problems facing the workers and citizens in their communities. Critical notes were strongly audible in the discussion. Speakers noted insufficient progress in the fight against profiteering and social parasitism. The importance was stressed of dealing with the long-neglected shortcomings, such as in communication services and housing construction. A particularly creative and constructive climate was seen at the meetings in workers' communities, at large industrial enterprises.

The atmosphere reigning at the meetings and conferences was a clear reflection of the quality and level of party work during the period preceding the reports campaigns.

[Question] How have the members of the PZPR evaluated the activities of their party?

[Answer] Matters of internal party work occupied a large space in discussions at the conferences. The need was stressed for regularly purging the party ranks of passive, idle people. Particularly pointed criticism was made of the ideological education and the schematic and purely verbal approach frequently seen in that area. Attention was called to the frequent instances of ideological vacillations and violations of the principles of the party character. Concern was expressed for development of party ranks, while retaining stringent, unambiguous, ideological requirements for party members and candidates.

In workers' communities and research and development institutions, much has been done to develop the forms and methods for implementing the resolutions of the Seventh, Eighth and Tenth Central Committee Plenum. Executive boards and party organizations were called upon to return to these resolutions in updating the effective schedules of their implementation and work plans. The campaign showed that further improvement is needed in skills of setting goals for party activity and estimating its effects so that the form did not prevail over the essence.

[Question] What reevaluations have been done by the conferences as regards the programs of activity of party organizations?

[Answer] The resolutions adopted at the conference on the basis of reports and evaluations, and the suggestions proposed during the course of the discussions, to a large extent correct and supplement the programs of activity adopted by the reports and election conferences. This applies primarily to the activity of ground-level party organizations at enterprises, with the need for using the statutory regulations to discipline party members, increase their active involvement in implementation and defense of the party program guidelines, and raising the efficacy of political activity and ideological indoctrination.

The resolutions frequently go far beyond the internal party issues. In particular, they specify the forms of cooperation between ground-level party organizations and public and youth organizations, set goals in restoring the areas of party activity in rural communities and obligate the PZPR members to actively participate in PRON, providing inspiration for creation and development of the trade union movement and workers' self-management units. The resolutions also contained commitments for systematic control and monitoring of the process of implementation of the economic reform, as well as actions for better meeting the needs of the population.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, what is the status of party organizations in the Katowice Province?

[Answer] As of 31 December 1982, the provincial party organizations numbered approximately 284,000 members and candidate members. Of this number, 52.5 percent are workers. Since August 1980, more than 100,000 members and candidate members have left the provincial party organizations. It should be noted that different people left the PZPR for different reasons. Most of these people had joined the party in the 1970's. They rushed to join the party without any motivations, frequently expecting personal benefit; no wonder that in difficult times they were in an equal hurry to run away. A certain proportion left the party under the psychological pressure of the ambience--blackmail by opponents. It would be wrong to suggest that exclusively the worst members left the PZPR, as among them are people who could continue to be good workers for the party.

Starting from 13 December 1981, exclusions from party ranks increased in the PZPR. These were largely done by local party organizations. The principal motives were passivity, actions incompatible with the party rules and

submission to alien ideological influences. We now receive requests for readmission to the party. Each of these is scrutinized closely. We are particularly concerned to make sure that the those wishing to return are not motivated in this by personal gain. We do not want to have in the party vacillating people constantly changing their views.

[Question] Some have left, but others are joining the party.

[Answer] In the difficult year of 1982, we admitted to the ranks of the provincial party organization 647 comrades. We have also been admitting new members during 1980 and 1981. The emphasis is laid on ideological, political, professional and moral tests. We require the knowledge of the tasks determined by the PZPR charter, and the tasks and responsibilities that members of the party are undertaking are extremely difficult and have to be implemented in the face of extremely difficult conditions.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/446

OLSZTYN PROVINCE PARTY REPORTS CONFERENCE NOTED

Coverage of Conference Program

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 31 Jan 83 p 1

[Text] The PZPR Provincial Reports Conference, held on Saturday, 29 January, ended the campaign which evaluated an over-18-months' period of party activity in Olsztyn Province. Delegates elected during the pre-Congress campaign in 1981, first secretaries of the primary echelons, and invited guests, took part in the deliberations which were conducted by Jan Laskowski, PZPR Provincial Committee (KW) first secretary. The central party authorities were represented by Politburo candidate member, Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Olsztyn party organization delegate. Conference guests included: Michal Atlas, director of the Central Committee Administration Department; Janusz Kaminski, minister of Communications; Jan Jablonski, vice minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Zygmunt Rybicki, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers; Wincenty Stelmaczek, chairman of the provincial committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL); Tadeusz Maria Galewski, vice chairman of the provincial committee of the Democratic Party (SD); Wladyslaw Ogrodzinski, chairman of the Provincial Provisional Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON); and Col Bogdan Mazurek, chairman of the Provincial People's Council.

Jan Laskowski, KW first secretary, on behalf of the Provincial Committee Executive Board, delivered the report leading to the discussion (see text of report below).

This was a reports conference, assessing the work that was done--work that we remember as being difficult and filled with tension; this was a party debate, not ceremonial but working, summing up the most important processes that occurred during this period in the party's provincial organization and in the life of the people. We are now stronger and more unified, the delegates said. The party has fulfilled the obligations it took upon itself. At the same time, this was a critical discussion, during which our frailties and those of the party were talked about very openly.

But the above sentences do not cover the real substance of Saturday's conference. It encompassed not only the past, but by the abundance of problems undertaken it reached into the future--the immediate future and sometimes the distant one. It was not by chance that the discussion so frequently returned to the resolution of the recent joint Eleventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee on the development of agriculture and food for the nation. This was a conference that drew up concrete proposals. The utterances of the conference attendees reflected a sense of responsibility for the party, for its role in conducting economic reform and improving the living conditions of the working people.

Next, the Olsztyn governor, Sergiusz Rubczewski, reported on economic matters and the work of the state administration in Olsztyn Province.

Speeches were made by 25 people (see discussion below) and 11 comrades submitted their speeches for the record.

At the conclusion of the discussion, the candidate member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee secretary, Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, took the floor (see text of speech below).

A draft resolution was presented by Col Dr Stanisław Biczysko, commandant of the Advanced Officers School in the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Szcztyń, but before it was approved, a heated discussion developed over two proposals contained in this resolution: the establishment of a provincial party school and the establishment of preferences for schooling for workers-peasant youth. After a vote, both proposals were stricken, for it was determined that under current economic conditions we are not in a position to set up a new school, and the rules, published in GAZETA by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, governing the acceptance of first-year students, fulfill the conditions of the proposal. The conference also accepted for record the ruling of the Provincial Party Control Commission on Edward Bauknecht, delegate to the conference from Stawiguda, clearing him of charges made in the Olsztyn mass media by editors J. Krajewski and A. Szajkowski (this was over a year ago). The Provincial Party Control Commission (WKKP) investigated the charges and in a comprehensive document dated 26 January 1982, stated as follows: "After conducting a party investigation, the WKKP has determined that the accusations made by both editors turned out to be untrue or exaggerated, therefore the WKKP adjudication team has decided to clear E. Bauknecht of the charges, and to take the appropriate party action against J. Krajewski and A. Szajkowski."

The first secretary of the PZPR KW in Olsztyn, Jan Laskowski, addressed himself to some detailed issues brought up in the discussion. He said that the multiplication of different administration and service "regions" to serve the populace does not make life easier and that there should be more political supervision over this and consultation by central authorities with local authorities. Some ministers, e.g., those of Communication or Administration, have not done so. The authorities know about the situation concerning the publication of another newspaper, DZIENNIK POJEZIERZE. The Olsztyn Printing Plants (OZGraf) have some staffing problems. The intervention of the Minister of Culture is necessary here. Insofar as planning is concerned, it was envisaged that the Provincial People's Council will approve a minimum plan, and the party members should exceed this plan. Naturally, there will

not be enough funds to cover everything, nor will there be enough for a sewage treatment plant in Biskupiec. Comrade Laskowski thanked the delegates and guests for their orderliness during deliberations. He expressed the hope that the role of the Primary Party Organization in the factories and in the area will become stronger, because a reconstruction of the social infrastructure has already taken place, including PRON, the trade unions, self-governments, youth organizations, and interparty collaboration. The time has come, therefore, to organize party members into groups to begin the specific tasks, e.g., the elections. We are happy that we have made good use of the past year, that we have achieved more than we planned originally. I think that we will do well this year also.

The conference adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale".

First Secretary Jan Laskowski's Speech

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 31 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] Comrades! Fulfilling a statutory obligation, we have assembled at a reports conference to assess the results of the activity of the provincial party organization during this term, and to make a critical examination of the social and political condition in the province, so as to delineate the tasks for the future.

We have supplied our comrades with a good deal of informational material and we have held regional meetings with delegates, at which we amplified the assessments and proposals contained in that material. The most comprehensively defined basic significance and goal of our conference is the further consolidation of the party and the enhancement of the effectiveness of its activities, so indispensable for the proper sociopolitical development of the province. But the question arises--what measure should be applied to evaluate our actions and achievements. Because our entire party, and our provincial party organization also, has gone through an extremely difficult period, a period of struggle to preserve the socialist system in Poland, a period of struggle to preserve the party's ideological, political and organizational unity, to preserve its ability to function and regain the confidence of the working people. The period which we are evaluating was not politically uniform--it had its phases and stages.

We began the term prior to the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. This was a period of critical assessment of our mistakes, but it was also a period of program searchings and solutions, guaranteeing the rebirth of the party, the state's socialist renewal, and the reform of the economy. We carried on impassioned discussions within the party during that time, but we did not have enough strength, or were not able to effectively influence the people. We then surrendered the field to the enemy. Many, very many, party members believed that if we admit to our mistakes, work out a program for overcoming the crisis and for democratization, then the crisis in Poland will end and the party will regain the confidence of the people.

Our political opponent took advantage of this period to weaken our party. He attempted to foist upon us a foreign ideology and to shatter the party's organizational unit. A glaring sign of this were the so-called horizontal movements, which first made themselves known principally in Olsztyn. Viewpoints and ideas foreign

to us wrapped in pseudoclass and pseudopatriotic slogans. It was not surprising, therefore, that they had repercussions, and within our ranks also, and the more so because our party in the past neglected its ideological work. And for this reason, too, the question was often asked, where are these antisocialist forces. But there were at that time many comrades who noted the entire complexity of the situation and all of the threats to the party and the state, and with all their might opposed the tendencies and forces so foreign to us. They did this with good results.

The Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress fulfilled the expectations of the party members and all of the people. It quickly became apparent that the extremist forces of "Solidarity" undertook direct action against the party, the people's authority, and began to dismantle the state and the economy. The so-called "hunger" marches began, the days without newspapers, the endless strikes, a total propaganda campaign, including an anti-Soviet campaign, the paralyzing of party organization activity, and the pressures on some particular members of ours. Many of our members could not withstand this atmosphere, the mental and moral pressures, and actually, threats, and began to leave our ranks. The work of certain primary party organizations came to a halt, but at the same time many people steeled themselves in the struggle and successfully defied the opponent's attempts at destruction and his slogans. Where our aktiv was able to mobilize for action, generally the opponent did not achieve his aims. That is how it was, for example, with the "hunger" march in Olsztyn, where thanks to the active stance of our comrades, it was on a small scale. Nor did the opponents' days without newspapers succeed. In exchange for that we had a strike in OZGraf [Olsztyn Printing Plant]. Cut off from the workforce, we began an explanatory campaign in the party aktiv and among the people, discussing the actual goals and what lay at the bottom of the strike. We felt very sorry for the striking printers and especially for their families, but unfortunately the strikers were being incited daily by about 20 advisers and it is they who escalated the demands and usurped the right to represent the printers. It is not with the workers that the representatives of the authorities refused to talk, but with the politicians, who did not want talks with the workers to take place. The general warning strike, organized 28 October, also did not succeed. For the first time, in the province there was no workforce that would, in its entirety, stop working. These facts attested to the change in social attitudes, to the weariness with the constant incitement of an atmosphere of demonstrations and strikes. More and more people began to yearn for calm and safety and began to fear for their own fate and that of the country.

The atmosphere in the countryside was relatively good. The "Solidarity" of the Private Farmers on the Olsztyn countryside did not play a very large part. It gained somewhat larger influence in a few gminas. The main campaign that it conducted--to not pay the third instalments of the tax--did not obtain wide support among the farmers. The atmosphere in the countryside was determined also by the good attitude of the workforces in the state agricultural enterprises. We had only one case of an announcement last fall of a readiness to strike in a State Farm in Biskupiec.

But the opponent has not given up his search for new areas of conflicts and confrontations. Late in November, the Olsztyn schools, supported by advisors and financially from the "Solidarity" Regional Board, joined in student strikes, which were of a clearly political nature.

Attacked by the opponent, and resisting these attacks more or less successfully, we did not forget for a moment our duties to society. Despite the weakening of the party, the elements of authority, and the state and economic administrations, we endeavoured to prevent the collapse of production, procurement and supply of basic food articles, in order to ensure the people fuel and stocks for winter. Thanks to the commitment of thousands of party activists, management staff, and many nonparty people, we were able to do this, even though the threat of factory shutdowns hung over our head due to lack of coal. In some fields we could even talk of successes, as, for example, we did a good job of implementing the housing construction plan in 1981. In sum, however, these were very difficult times, especially since we were more and more aware that the extremist activists of "Solidarity" were aiming at confrontation, which had already been revealed, without any insinuation, during the course of the Radom and Gdansk meetings during which a total encounter was being prepared for 16 and 17 December, in Olsztyn, also.

If we endured this period of many months of furious, concentrated attacks as a party, really weakened--but we did not fall apart and after 13 December we did not have to start all over again--it was due to the determination of thousands of our party members, particularly those on the front line in the workplaces, where it was and is most difficult. It was due to the workers' organizations which, to a large degree, retained their ability to function. It was due to the many nonparty advocates of socialism in Poland, and due to the ideological and political stance of our comrades in the Polish People's Army, the Citizens' Militia and Security Service.

That is the situation in which we found ourselves on 13 December 1981 when the historical decision was made to declare martial law, which protected us against civil war, against the biological extermination of the nation, which preserved the national identity and socialist character of the state. Martial law allowed us to suppress the counterrevolution, halt the critical processes occurring in the economy, continue reform, consolidate the party, and gradually rebuild the confidence of the working people in us.

During the first days of martial law we concentrated our efforts on neutralizing the actions of the "Solidarity" extremists. Attempts to organize strikes were made in many plants. But only about 200 workers in the UNITRA-CEMI [electronic equipment plant] in Szczytno and OZOS [tire plant] in Olsztyn could be induced to stop working. In OZOS the strikers had to be removed from the factory by the Citizens' Militia and the Army. The internal enemy, the underground supported by the centers of western propaganda inimical to us, attempted during all of last year to disrupt the normalization process through attempts to organize strikes, demonstrations and acts of sabotage. These facts are known to our comrades, as well as what went on in May, June, August and November.

We can now say that in this province the underground and the enemy's propaganda did not achieve any of its intended goals. This was due to our active opposition, and, as we gained strength and experience, our preventative measures. The Polish People's Army, the Citizens' Militia, and the Security Service all fulfilled their duties to the nation and the state in an exemplary way. We sincerely thank our comrades for this. The Provincial Defense Committee and most of the management staffs of the plants and enterprises performed the tasks that we assigned to them.

Our party organizations gained experience and gathered political strength in this struggle. The circle of active party members steadily grew. Our comrades in the workplaces had it the hardest. They showed a great deal of endurance and courage. We were not alone in this struggle. We were supported by the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party as well as an increasingly larger number of nonparty citizens.

We appreciate the attitude of the residents of our province who in difficult moments showed themselves to be calm, with good political judgment and resistance to enemy propaganda.

After martial law was declared, we found ourselves in a new situation and had to assign ourselves new tasks and methods for implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. We felt that the main task of the provincial party organization was the establishment of political, social and economic conditions which would make it possible to suspend martial law. We strengthened the party, its leadership and also its service role. When there no longer were trade unions and self-governments, we began to appoint social commissions, consultation commissions, commissions on matters of prices and costs. We supported the formation of citizens' committees for national rebirth and salvation. We conducted political supervision over the application of economic reform, and reacted to all transgressions and distortions. We gave inspiration to a growth in economic activeness and an improvement in the market. We gave a great deal of attention to the education and upbringing of youth.

All elements of the provincial party organization operate on the principle that what is important for the people is important for the party, recognizing that this is the most effective way of rebuilding confidence.

In implementing the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee Eighth Plenum, we are acting with full commitment to restore the workers' self-government, and since November we have been supporting the formation of trade unions. As a result of our activities during the past year we have made considerable progress in normalizing the sociopolitical situation and halting the critical occurrences in the economy. We have done a great deal, but there is still an enormous amount of work ahead of us and we are far from our goal.

We have directed a lot of effort at improving the situation in education, upbringing, and work with youth. We have achieved discipline in the schools, and the divisions among the teachers have been reduced. Not for a long time has there been such discipline in the schools, and the youth organizations are also becoming stronger. However, we are still far from the state in which we could regard our upbringing work with the young generation to be satisfactory. In too many cases we determine that the discipline in implementing teaching and upbringing programs is superficial. Youth's sociopolitical and historical knowledge continues to be unsatisfactory, as shown by instances, in our province, too, where youth and even children's groups organize and call themselves fascist, hitlerite, etc. This is a rare occurrence, but it cannot be ignored. We must raise the level of the upbringing work of the schools and the parents, and activate youth unions. We must also raise the qualifications for teachers, and fill the staff vacancies which will increase in the coming year. We must also improve the materials base in the teaching-upbringing centers, and provide housing for teachers, particularly in the countryside.

One of the main fronts in our battle was economic life. We have shown a great deal of inspiration in this field and subjected it to our party inspection. The economy in our province was subject to the same tendencies as the economy in the country. There was a decline in production, while labor productivity also dropped and wages increased.

In many industries there was difficulty in obtaining materials, and the effects of severed coproduction ties made themselves known.

We suffered the effects of the sanctions applied by the Reagan administration and certain western states, especially in the poultry industry, the production of tires, and other products. At the same time, we were applying economic reform, which was not always understandable either to the workforces or some of the management staff. But we could not agree that certain reform mechanisms should be taken advantage of to safeguard the immediate interests of the workforces at the expense of society as a whole, for example, in establishing prices. We postulated specific systems-type changes which have been applied. Drastic price changes when there were insufficient supplies of goods and an unbalanced market did not help in improving the mood of the public. Many people saw economic reform as being the cause of this, and not the crisis.

Understanding the entire complexity of the situation and the objective difficulties, we could not agree to the unfavorable occurrences of a subjective nature which took place at the beginning of the year in some factories and enterprises. They included minimum performance of production tasks in certain plants (enough to get by), even where raw materials were available, for example, in the wood industry; an attempt to blame the effects of uneconomical management on prices; and lack of entire-year plans for economic activation.

We also regard as dangerous the theory voiced by some of the management staff that Olsztyn industry's results must be worse than the national average because we do not have a mining industry. We have recommended that plant programs for overcoming the crisis be prepared, as well the plant's own three-year plans, and we have consistently implemented the decisions of the Central Committee Eighth Plenum. During the second six months there was a perceptible increase in the production activity of the enterprises, as revealed by an increase in production and labor productivity, while wages continued to rise at rapid rate.

We have devoted a great deal of attention to the improvement in supplies and the functioning of trade. Of course, we have not achieved market balance but we have improved our position in the country from 47th place to 29th or 30th. Plans for construction of schools and preschools have been implemented not too badly, and installation of drainage and water supply for the countryside has been good. However, we are not satisfied with the results obtained in residential construction, especially in the countryside, and also in the area of major repairs of buildings.

We suffered the greatest losses in construction during the first six months, and not just from objective causes. At the same time we must oppose the practice, applied by many construction and land reclamation enterprises, of raising prices, which allowed them to accumulate large financial reserves, which for the most part were paid into the state budget in the form of income tax.

The next KW plenum will be devoted to construction. We believe that we must not consent to keeping the results on construction at this year's level. We should also strive to maintain results in land reclamation and installation of water to the countryside at at least the 1982 level, which was reasonably good.

It appears to us that some industrial enterprises must also take a critical look at their production intentions. It seems that despite the entire complexity of the situation we should be able to attain much more if the party organizations, self-governments, factory managements, and entire workforces, are mobilized. At the same time we should exercise political supervision over improvements made in the incentive systems, management efficiency, and observance of financial discipline, especially as pertains to wages.

The basic sector of the national economy in Olsztyn province is agriculture and the farm-food industry. The standing of this sector determines the amount of marketable production. In the total national marketable production the Olsztyn province occupies:

- second place in marketable production of milk,
- fourth place in overall marketable production of slaughter livestock,
- fifth place in marketable production of grain.

This is already a significant level of agricultural production, but it is still insufficient in relation to existing requirements and capabilities. In looking at the achievements of 1982, we should take into account that our agriculture has constantly worse conditions for development in relation to the other regions of the country due to:

- insufficient durable means of production (machines, equipment, tools, etc.), of which in comparison with the national average, we have 32 percent less,
- lower employment in the entire agriculture, amounting to 16 persons actively working per 100 hectares of cropland, compared to a national average of 27,
- insufficient water supply in the countryside, since over 350 villages constantly or periodically lack water,
- a high degree of depreciation of the buildings base, amounting to 35 percent of its overall state, compared with a national average of 25 percent,
- a high degree of consumption of of land reclamation equipment and continually low outlays for land reclamation in relation to requirements.

In addition to the above-mentioned problems which restrict rapid growth of farm production, we should look at the factors which facilitate improvement. These include:

- a relatively well-developed and modern farm-food industry which guarantees that farm produce will be correctly collected and managed,
- in comparison with other regions of the country, a favorable agrarian structure of private farms, as shown by the large share of farms with large areas, i.e., more than 10 hectare, which make up 42 percent and use approximately 80 percent of the land held by this sector,
- well-organized production-engineering facilities in the socialized sector, but which must be supplemented by housing construction,

--well-developed scientific facilities in the form of a Technical Agricultural Academy and a network of secondary and basic agricultural schools.

Agricultural production in our province, and especially crop production in the past year, has been quite good. Detailed data on performance of the more important tasks are contained in the materials furnished to the conference attendees. But we are not satisfied with grain procurement.

But there is still more that can be done in all sectors of agriculture, both in proper management, observance of agro-engineering principles, as well as in the utilization of industrial means of production. The Eleventh Plenum resolution, passed and implemented jointly with ZSL, should serve to make use of these reserves. This resolution defines the tasks facing agriculture, the tasks facing other sectors of the economy for agriculture, and the directions of the social program in the countryside.

Its implementation should contribute not only to a growth in food production and to better living and working conditions in the village, it should also revive social and political life, activate rural self-governments, and above all, strengthen the workers-peasants alliance, which is the foundation of the people's authority in Poland.

We will work out the tasks ensuing from this resolution jointly with the Provincial Committee of ZSL, setting up an implementation schedule. We expect that the governor, the Presidium of the Provincial People's Council, the primary level authorities, and all organizations working with and cooperating with agriculture, will take the same approach to this problem. The tasks appearing in this work schedule must be accomplished with absolute consistency. We also anticipate that the government will quickly establish the principles governing contracts with the farmers for the supply of products, a tax policy, and possible price changes. Feelings of uncertainty arise if these are lacking.

I have pointed out some of the aspects of the province's socioeconomic life. Both we ourselves, as well as the internal controls, including the Armed Forces Inspectorate, have indicated large areas of neglect in various fields of our activities, neglect resulting not only from lack of funds but primarily from an unwillingness to do good work, the torpor of many people and communities, and also slovenliness. Frequently these are matters that require a rag and a pail of water, and frequently simple human matters are not taken care of for lack of ordinary goodwill. We should conduct a relentless struggle against all these signs of evil. But it will be successful only if we mobilize the entire society to do these things. Let us be the inspirators and originators of social initiatives in all communities. Let us restore the rightful standing to social deeds.

Comrades!

Our reports-program conference was preceded by reports conferences of the Primary Party Organizations (POP), the District Party Organizations (OOP), the Factory Committee (KZ), Gmina Committee (KG), City-Gmina Committee (KMG) and City Committee (KM) conferences. The present campaign is an important event for the party and all of society. Its proceedings and its results have helped to achieve important goals,

and particularly to increase the political, organizational and ideological strength of the provincial party organization ranks, their aggressiveness and unity, and in consequence, strengthen the party's leadership role in society. The reports campaign promotes the growth of activeness of the party echelons and organizations in implementing the Ninth Congress program, the Central Committee resolutions, the Provincial Committee resolutions, and their own resolutions.

The subject matter of the reports campaign was also directed at stimulating the party ranks to work actively in behalf of the ongoing normalization and stabilization of socioeconomic conditions and to increase the effectiveness of the struggle with the political opponent.

The course of the discussions at the meetings and conferences indicated that it is crucial for the future of the party that it be a party of struggle on behalf of the workers' class, the people of labor. The reports meetings revealed the greater activeness of our members, the POP and the echelons, but they also showed that we have some weak elements, as the poor attendance in some POP indicates, and also the cases of postponement of meetings. The discussions at meetings were concrete and relevant. Accountability for implementation of the organization's own resolutions was strict. In many POP, particularly the smaller ones, matters concerning the role of the POP, the effectiveness of its operation in its own community or workplace, dominated the discussions. There was considerable criticism that the management staff was ignoring POP proposals. It was emphasized that discipline must be further improved, that all party members should uniformly observe the rules of the statute, and that specific tasks must be defined and there should be control over the execution of these tasks.

At the same time, the need to improve the party ranks qualitatively and quantitatively was underscored. A great deal of space was devoted to the ideological activities of the party, party training, the need for better upbringing of the young generation, and the special role of the school, teachers, and youth organizations, in this upbringing.

In all communities the problems that dominated were those of the economy, construction and municipal management, the functioning of reform, the functioning of trade, market supplies, and prices.

In the villages a great deal of criticism was directed at the lack of supplies, the functioning of services and organizations servicing agriculture, the incorrect price ratios, etc. Much attention was given to the cultural life in the village and the need to activate it.

The reports conferences declared themselves in favor of their own community and factory programs for coming out of the crisis, for the need to show different types of production and social initiatives. Less attention was devoted to the problems of the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and the functioning of workers and rural self-governments. Particularly little attention was given to the development and strengthening of trade unions. Despite the fact that the meetings were of a reports nature, 87 changes were made in the position of first secretary of the POP and OOP, 19 in the position of second secretary, and 43 executive board members were replaced. During the conference, 1,000 proposals were

submitted for the attention of local authorities, 172 proposals were directed to the provincial authorities, and 66 to the central authorities. The executive boards of the committees, after verifying them, reduced the number of proposals by one-third. The proposals pertained to the functioning of trade, the distribution and prices of goods, price ratios, procurement of farm products, environmental protection, school textbooks, greater penalties for violations of law and order and destruction of public property, waste, more efficient work on the part of state and economic administration offices, improvement in the functioning of the health, municipal and public services. About 2,500 proposals were recorded from POP meetings. All must be investigated with proper attention and implemented or explained.

The reports campaign confirmed that the provincial party organization has become stronger, and is more uniform ideologically and organizationally. Capable of conducting a political struggle with the opponent, inspiring and controlling the elements of authority of state and economic administration, it showed that the number of active party members increased, that many of our comrades are implementing the party line in their communities, are involving themselves in work in social and youth organizations, in the development of self-governments, trade unions, and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. But it also revealed our weaknesses. They include a large group of party members who are not very active, and also lack of visible activity in some POP's. Some of our members are timid in their actions, or are two-faced, one of which they reveal at meetings, another in their everyday life. This is dangerous for the party and must be nipped in the bud.

The executive boards of the primary echelons and the KW executive board have evaluated the course of the reports campaign and based on this evaluation have determined our weak points. We should be able to draw some practical conclusions on the state of the party, and strengthen our weak elements by giving them effective assistance.

Comrades!

Our conference is being held at the beginning of the third stage of our term, a month after suspension of martial law. The suspension of martial law is not only a new legal state, it is confirmation of the ongoing process of normalization in Poland and the collapse of underground activity. The suspension of martial law does not mean and cannot mean that the party and organs of state authority are being demobilized. In this new situation the role of the party is growing. The party must, by political methods, ensure the further normalization of life, carry on a successful struggle with the opponents of socialism, stimulate socio-production activity, and influence social attitudes, which are still not good because of expected price increases and many problems of everyday life.

The opponents of socialism have been beaten, but they have not been defeated. Western propaganda takes advantage of every occasion to incite and instigate. The internal opponents keep changing their methods of battle, and will try also to employ pseudo-class and pseudopatriotic slogans aimed at undermining confidence in us, and particularly that of the younger generation.

In order to cope with the tasks we must not only consolidate the party but also tighten our collaboration with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, the secular Catholic and christian societies, and the youth, social, and professional

organizations. We must make it possible for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which is becoming the platform for understanding for all Poles who recognize the systems principles of our State, to grow.

The citizens' committees for national rebirth began this movement, which is steadily expanding. As of September, the PRON Provisional Provincial Council, and 56 local councils, are active. Over 8,000 activists, of whom over 40 percent are party members, are members of these councils. We have many factory, community and rural organizations, and access to social organizations. We also have a small number of applications from plants and pedagogical councils. We are getting ready for the national congress. We should at that time give our party support to the development of this movement, especially in the workplaces, schools and in the countryside.

The rebirth and creation of workers' self-governments is taking place at our inspiration. We should continue to support them, strengthen their role within the framework of Sejm laws and other legal regulations.

The rebuilding of trade unions is a matter of special gravity. The partnership relationship of the party and its tasks in the trade union movement have been defined in the Central Committee Tenth Plenum Resolution. We have subsectors, plants and communities more or less advanced in the formation of a union movement. The activity of our members and party organizations in the development of trade unions must be increased. It is not only a matter of numerical expansion, but also a matter of strengthening this movement and making it possible for it to fulfill its obligations to labor. Above all, labor needs strong trade unions.

We must, finally, stimulate the people's councils and the councilors to greater activity, inspire and politically supervise the functioning of elements of the state and economic administration, and the cooperatives. We must give our political support to youth organizations.

Our political supervision over the application of economic reform is needed. We must stimulate production among the workforces and inhabitants of the villages.

We can and must achieve all these goals. There is only one condition: continued consolidation of the provincial party organization's ideological, political and organizational unity, and greater activity in the party of all of our elements and members. We must all learn to fulfill a leadership role through our members. Our members must be active in all elements of our life, in all organizations, and show discipline there in the implementation of party resolutions.

We have an obligation to draw conclusions from the party's situation in 1981, when we were divided and set one against the other, and thus had little effect. We must not allow this mistake to be repeated.

Poland needs a strong party, for only a strong party will be able to ultimately lead the country out of the political and economic crisis. Only a strong party will be able to build socialism in Poland without crises.

Secretary Wlodzimerz Mokrzysszczak's Speech

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[Text] At the conclusion of the discussion, Wlodzimierz Mokrzysszczak, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, took the floor. He addressed himself to many matters brought up in the discussion, including some questions on economic reform pertaining to agriculture and the activity of party organizations under the present circumstances.

Speaking of a characteristic understanding of the principles of reform in some factories, he said: There were those who divided all of the profits among the workforce, which brought them authority, but not for long. After all, some thought must be given to repairs, to regeneration of assets. In every province, a correct and wise policy in this respect must be enforced.

On the subject of agriculture: There are some good farmers, and State Farms, in this province. There is science, and this is where the proposals should come from, addressed to the ministry and the government. Rational solutions, whose applications will give us more food. We must formulate specific proposals, fight for just decisions, because we will gain nothing by complaining.

On the role on the party organization in the workplace: Subjects that have social implications, such as factory construction, should be implemented jointly, because they require a large, combined strength--the party, trade unions, management.

Next the speaker discussed the activity of the Central Committee and its commissions, and described the new democratic style of work of the central party elements. He spoke of the activeness and commitment of Central Committee members, not only during plenary meetings but also in teams and commissions in which the materials are prepared. The Central Committee members consult with the problem teams during meetings that last many hours. The form of the Politburo reports is decided by the Central Committee members in a democratic way, and resolutions are prepared collectively. That is what mattered, after all, when everyone considered on how we could protect ourselves against the errors made in the past in party activity. During this time, 41 Politburo meetings were held, at which the problems of the working people's daily living conditions, economic matters, and ideological problems, were examined. For example, at the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum we obliged the party echelons to introduce a uniform system of replying to the people's complaints and proposals. There has already been great progress in this field, and continued stubborn activity will help us regain the confidence of society.

We are observing principles of openness in our actions: our resolutions, our time tables, and reports, are published in TRYBUNA LUDU, a universally available newspaper. This, too, is a new element of work style, after the Ninth Congress, just as are the regular contacts of representatives of the party leadership with the workforces in the workplaces. In those plants where it is most difficult, Politburo members are present every month. The Politburo decided to send part of the political apparatus from the party echelons to the POP in workplaces, in order to tighten the communication along the primary organization-Central Committee line. We are thus improving the party's unity and ability to act.

This was a period for party renewal, purging and consolidation. Are we strong? I never said we were. Certainly we are stronger than in 1981. The process of purging the party proceeded naturally until 13 December 1981, and after the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum, it proceeded in a way controlled by the party organizations, when 80 percent of the decisions to strike members from the rolls were made by the POP, and only 20 percent by the echelons, or party control commission teams.

In 1982 7,600 people joined the party. Is this a lot or a little? That depends on what you are comparing it to. There are now 2,400,000 of us in the party. This is a force, which going in one direction, implementing resolutions with full commitment, can accomplish a great deal. Of our ranks, 40 percent are workers, and of the newly accepted members, again, 40 percent are workers, and 60 percent are young people. The process of renewal may appear to be too slow. But this is a long process, for the scale of the political and mental crisis was also enormous.

During the reports period we have improved party information. There has been criticism that there is too much in it that is not essential, that the materials prepared should be shorter because there is not enough time, which is true. And the party information should be improved.

In the pre-Congress campaign, 66 percent of the functional officials in the party were replaced. The hobbyists can compare this with other organizations. Were all of the changes necessary and justified? We can talk about that in our free moments.

The present reports campaign, and I have been taking part in it since the meeting in my POP, showed the large involvement of party members in the everyday matters of the working people and the plants. There is a fundamental difference between these meetings and the meetings in the previous periods. At that time, proposals were only directed "to the top"--nothing was proposed that could be done in one's own plant. Now, after the first stage of implementation of those proposals, despite the crisis and troubles, in some provinces already over 90 percent of the demands made at that time have been taken care of, and they did not apply just to improvements in interpersonal relations. Now the discussion and the proposals are directed mainly at our own strength and capabilities. This is also tied to economic reform--in order to invest, there have to be earnings. A great deal is said at reports meetings and conferences about economic matters, those pertaining to living conditions. There are a lot of critical comments on reform, but there are also favorable opinions about it. A great deal is said about deviant social behavior, about speculation, about millionaires. Problems of intraparty discipline in the POP are brought up, the unity of action of party elements, and the position of the POP in the workplace.

The comrades are also advancing the thesis that the ideological work needs to be intensified. There is already a substantial portion of materials for work in this field. An all-Poland conference has already been held on this subject, and 11 regional conferences. Twice the declaration "What Are We Fighting For, To What Are We Striving", was submitted for discussion. In March 1982, the Politburo prepared ideological-program assumptions, and in June, assumptions on the development of training work. The Central Committee conducts a lecture program. Matters relating to ideological work will be discussed at the Twelfth Plenum, which, after a discussion, will also develop the principles of a staffing policy in the party.

The list of matters that have been solved, or received for implementation at the instigation of the party, is long.

Next the speaker called attention to the role of the POP in the workplace, the party's most important element. Its significance in political, and also economic matters, must grow. It must undertake problems which at the moment are unpopular, but will later bring positive results. To ignore them will have evil consequences. That is what happened, for example, when the workplaces established prices on their products. We warned against achieving improvement in economic results through price manipulations, instead of reductions in production costs. We recommended that party teams be formed to deal with matters of costs and prices. We were told: Do you want to set us against the workforces? That was not popular. The matter was neglected and now we have the sad results. In a situation in which new trade unions are being formed, workers' self-governments are arising, we should help both one and the other, and not divide the fields of operation. For those are our joint matters, and we will not lose face if something good is credited to the union or the self-government. It is all credited to socialist Poland.

The primary party organizations should be familiar with the draft production-economic plans of their plants, take part in the creation of the plan. They should always be concerned with work safety and health. People are needlessly losing their health, because in the flood of matters we forgot about the basic requirements. We should also consider how profits are to be divided, give some thought to tomorrow and assign a portion of the profits for environmental protection because, after all, that is for our children.

The Central Committee secretary warned against the danger of allowing ourselves to be divided into young and old, as the opponent would have us, into rightwingers and leftwingers, into workers and farmers, etc. This method has its purpose: divide us and we will be weaker.

We must continue something very difficult: a line of understanding, and struggle, simultaneously. Always in such a situation there are some who believe that there is too little struggle and too much understanding. Others think the opposite. Partnership cooperation with youth organizations is important. The young are more deeply affected by tensions. They do not flock to trade union and self-government elements. They must be told honestly that if they do not now, at the time that elections to self-governments and unions are behind held, go into these organizations, then later, after the elections, when they come to the party with complaints that "we are not there", it will be too late. The party will not bail them out.

Mokrzyszczak stressed that the examples of good cooperation between the party deputy clubs and the clubs from the allied parties [ZSL and SD] should be applied downwards--to the councilor groups and the POP and ZSL circles, and pull the wagon of joint tasks together--then it will be easier.

A great deal remains to be done. Poland's position has dropped both in the East and the West. We are recovering it in our socialist family--General Jaruzelski's visits, contacts with the leaderships of the communist parties in the West, an exchange of letters, information, clarifications, all of this is helping.

We must more effectively combat speculation, incompetence, stupidity, bureaucracy and waste. This does not require investment. Regulations are being put in order. For example, in the Ministry of Communications 600 orders, which were still in effect although they had no reason for being because conditions had changed, were eliminated. Annual staff reviews in the administration should help in reducing bureaucracy. The elimination of an entire package of matters burdening our lives is an investment-free increase in the substance of socialism in Poland. We are gaining allies for these actions. The year 1983 will not be an easy one and we will have to count only on our own strength. It may be possible, if all of the honest people who want to work well become involved, to do more than was done in 1982.

Discussions by Conference Attendees

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[Text] Sergiusz Rubczewski, governor of Olsztyn:

Discussed the work of the state administration during the past two years and the basic economic goals planned for the current year.

As the crisis deepened and the actions of the political opponent, aimed at the disintegration of sociopolitical and economic structures intensified, the workers in the state administration were faced with the task of maintaining continuity in economic life, halting the decline in production, particularly of market goods, and undertaking a struggle against deviant social behavior. These tasks ensued from the resolution of the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress and the decisions of the Provincial Reports-Electoral Conference. The first requisite of their implementation was establishment of public law and order, which became possible with the imposition of martial law.

Comrade Rubczewski described the new elements in the operations of the administration after 13 December 1981. They include the execution by the offices of many tasks in the social and political field; periodic consultations with village administrators and plant managements, and recently also with the chairmen of the self-governments; correction, with the help of military operational groups and in accordance with recommendations of the Armed Forces Inspectorate, of many spheres of economic life that had been neglected in the past; an overall review of the staff, thanks to which the discipline and responsibility of administration employees increased; an improvement in the procedure for investigating and settling citizens' complaints and suggestions. The province's state administration, the governor said, passed its test in the most difficult moments. This does not mean, of course, that there no longer is bureaucracy and that all is without fault. The elimination of the bad features in the work of the administration is an ongoing process of improving its methods and raising the qualifications of the staff. Rubczewski emphasized that the administration has received and is receiving support for these actions from the provincial party echelons, the city and gmina committees, and the POP in the Provincial Administration.

During martial law the effective management of socioeconomic operations was assumed by the Provincial Defense Committee. It performed, and continues to perform, a

significant role in the stabilization of life and work in the province by stimulating growth in production, executing tasks in housing construction, improving the distribution of goods, etc.

And here are the positive results which have been achieved in the province: a halt in the rate of production decline and a restoration of the correct rhythm of work in industry, agriculture, construction and transportation. Olsztyn industry achieved its first favorable results in the third and fourth quarters of last year. We produced more furniture, farm machines, butter, and wall partitions. Despite this, total production, in comparison with 1981, was 5.5 percent lower. Production of tires, fodder mixtures, knit goods and clothing, was lower.

Grain crops were larger, by 120,000 tons, than in 1981; procurement of milk and slaughter livestock stayed at the same level. But the downward tendency in animal raising, especially hogs, in recent months is disturbing.

The housing construction plan was not fully executed (lack of materials). The food market has been essentially stabilized, which does not mean, however, that it is functioning satisfactorily. The industrial-goods market is still very unbalanced, and almost every type of goods is immediately bought out.

There has been improvement in city transportation and city water supply. The functioning of schools has improved. The number of places in preschools has increased by over 2,000, and thanks to modernization, there is continuity in the functioning of health protection centers. Benefits for the elderly and disabled have been increased.

Problems which require immediate attention relate to conditions under which primary schools in the cities must function, availability of unpiped gas, and health service materials and equipment.

The governor then reported on the main assumptions of the plan for the current year. The goals of the planned economic actions are as follows:

- to maintain the upward growth trend of production in industry and construction;
- to obtain a high growth in crop production and fodder self-sufficiency, and to reduce the decline in numbers of cattle and hogs;
- to reduce manufacturing costs;
- to improve the quality of products and services;
- to make the distribution of goods more efficient by improving the work of the trade organizations;
- to improve the operations of the state and economic administrations so as to make application of reform consistent.

In order to surmount the crisis, the governor said, production must be increased to the maximum, and a correct ratio must be maintained between outlays and results achieved. This is a fact that the entire workforce in every workplace must be made aware of... There must be maximum economy in the use of raw and other materials. Production increases depend on supplies of these materials, and also on how efficiently they are used, the number of hours worked, labor productivity, and good

organization. The decline in the quality of goods, which is due not only to poor raw materials but also to a relaxation in technological standards, discipline, and social responsibility, is disturbing.

Rubczewski spoke of measures which would enable factories to increase their production and also of intervention in cases where high prices are a cover for extravagance, waste and poor quality.

The crucial task in agriculture is that of increasing our own production of fodder, full utilization, by farmers, of all production means available to them, honest execution of duties on the part of servicing units, maintenance of a basic herd of farm animals, improvement in the feeding of livestock. We will support all sectors of the farm economy equally, Rubczewski said, and the basic criterion of evaluation will be marketable production from a hectare of land, its labor-intensiveness, and utilization of all production factors. We will support the good farmers--those who want to produce--with means of production. We also have over 6,500 farmers who look for ways to get the most money for low production... We are not starting from zero in the farm economy, we have a considerable production potential, people representing all farming specialties. A better, than in the past, utilization of this potential is a task which we must undertake jointly with the agricultural self-government and its organizations in the farming enterprises. A goodly amount of unutilized ability lies in the functioning of the people's councils--the highest form of self-government. A great deal depends on how it fulfills its control and inspirational role.

--The past year was, in a certain sense, a turning point--Rubczewski said in ending his speech--although no one yet hazards the statement that the crisis has been overcome. We still face many very difficult tasks in every field of social and economic life.

Ryszard Gwizdala, delegate from the Grunwald gmina, deputy to the Sejm, and manager of the Dylewo State Farms:

Referred to the resolution of the Eleventh Joint Plenum, which binds all party elements to prepare a specific time table for implementation of motions that were passed. But as a representative of the State Farms he said that some changes should be made in that part of reform that relates to those enterprises. At the moment, two of the "S"s--self-dependence and self-government--are functioning efficiently, but the third--self-financing--continues to encounter difficulties, and without it the role of the two previous ones may soon become illusory. The speaker submitted six suggestions which, if put into effect, would bring about large and rapid production results in the State Farms. In his opinion, the following should be done: improve internal price ratios on farm products so as to make production of slaughter cattle and milk more profitable; institute economic mechanisms which would compensate for the higher costs of production under more difficult natural and economic conditions, which would make it possible for farms (not just State Farms) which are located in regions that have a short growing period, poor soil, unpredictable climate, or are distant from sales markets, to become profitable. These mechanisms should be made part of the new taxation system, and not be a component of crop prices. In view of the specificity of the work, its seasonal nature and the amount of employment connected with it, the State Farms should be exempted from payments into the

State Land Fund. Socialized enterprises should also be allowed to finance housing construction out of the enterprise's development fund and low-interest credits. The present financing system is responsible for the fact that construction fills only 20 percent of the needs of the villages. The State Farms are also demanding some of the profits derived from wholesale deliveries of livestock, milk and grain (the procurement institutions are seizing the entire margin of profit), and wholesale purchases of means of production. Gwizdala expressed indignation at the manner in which the State Farms were being criticized, at how the grain losses in the Dobre Miasto State Farms were being exaggerated, for one thing. According to him, only 243 kilograms of grain, out of a consignment of 540 tons, and not 900 tons, went to waste. The rest is fully good fodder.

Boguslaw Safianski, delegate from Morag:

Devoted his speech to the role of the POP and the role of the secretary in a workplace. The managers, very likely guided by imperious conceit, do not treat the POP as a representative of the ruling party. They do not inform it of all important decisions. The POP, also too sure of its own position, functions selectively, avoiding the more difficult problems, such as an evaluation of the middle technical staff. The first secretaries are not able to reconcile their party role with their vocational role, and here, in the opinion of the speaker, it would be useful to prepare, and apply, by mandate, the status of the POP and the role of its executive board in the enterprise. This is needed because it is becoming more and more difficult to function. The trade union movement and the self-governments are being revived, and the people, particularly those not belonging to the party, constantly assess the secretary, thinking--is he strong, or not, will he help us, or not?

The cadre policy in the party should be made more uniform and more efficient. Thus far we have not worked with the party reserves and we lost out here in the past. We must raise standards in the so-called "nomenklatura" [positions that can be filled only with the consent of the party organization] and within its framework also provide due powers to the POP.

Kazimerz Berg, delegate from Biskupiec:

Concentrated on problems relating to economic planning and municipal investments. He cited examples of local initiatives in Bisztynek, Jeziorany, and Biskupiec (for example, construction of a preschool, water-supply service, school repairs, etc.). But he said that the provincial plans provide for insufficient outlays for the development of infrastructure of small residential communities and towns. The lack of a sewage-treatment plant in Biskupiec, and housing in Biskupiec and Bisztynek, are examples of needs that are very urgent and have not been implemented for years. Since the war, not one house has been built in Bisztynek out of budgetary funds. The speaker also demanded that funds be increased for major repairs and criticized the fact that the conference's resolution will have no influence on the province's economic plan, because the latter was already approved at the Provincial People's Council plenary session the day before.

Jan Sasin, delegate from Milakowo, a farmer:

He expressed satisfaction that the party ranks have been consolidated and that many comrades have, through their adherence to principles, contributed to a growth

in the PZPR's authority in society. The party promotion of many of our comrades, e.g., W. Mokrzyszczak, confirms that we have been able to maintain the proper attitude. Comrade Sasin also reminded us that the least-educated occupational group is employed in agriculture, and that is why it makes a difference who offers services to the farmers, and how. Unfortunately, in the cooperative farming circles there, too, is a shortage of good professionals, who are located far from the farmers. For example, farm service should be assigned to the agricultural circles instead of the Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress. Other services are badly equipped, e.g., insemination, and that is why they are not always successful. However, state enterprises, which have better equipment, do not conduct a proper staffing policy. Poor managers are not eliminated but are transferred to another area, in an equivalent position. It is time that this come to an end, in order not to do damage to agriculture.

Wincenty Stelmaczonek, chairman of the provincial committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL):

On behalf of the members of the Peasant Party delivered their greetings and wishes for a productive conference and called attention to his Party's importance in the province's political, social and economic life. Everyone, including ZSL members, will participate in the implementation of constructive decisions, he said. We should work so that the collaboration of the PZPR, ZSL and SD will be a increasingly more effective driving force for socioeconomic development and all types of favorable changes. Referring to the joint plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee and the resolution on the development of agriculture, the speaker said that the provincial organization of the ZSL regards the implementation of this resolution as its most important task today. In its practical operations, it will concentrate its attention and efforts primarily on complete management of every piece of arable land; to bring the land used for agriculture to optimal productivity --the possibilities inherent here are shown in the glaring differences in yields obtained in different farms under identical soil and climate conditions--improvement and more efficient utilization of technical equipment and other means of production; continual improvement in farmers' skills and dissemination of reports on achievements of the best producers; improvements in the operations of organizations and institutions servicing agriculture and the state administration; and the development and strengthening of various forms of agricultural self-government and improving their standing. In conclusion, the speaker expressed the belief that joint effort and coordinated action in a partnership collaboration at every level, and especially the primary level, will make it possible to more effectively execute the joint resolution of the Central Committee and the Supreme Council, and the tasks ensuing from the party's present reports conference.

Col (Academy Graduate) Henryk Swiecicki, National Defense Committee plenipotentiary, chief of the Provincial Military Staff:

Most of the burden and responsibility for the fate of the country of 13 December 1981 was assumed by the armed forces together with the Citizens' Militia (MO) and the Security Service (SB). Because of this, today, here, we can meet calmly and think about the past and the future of the province and the country. We faced action on two fronts. This was a test of the unity of the armed forces. Rendering the counterrevolution powerless, was the first front. The second front were the socio-political and economic matters.

We began our work as commissioners from a zero option because in the history of our statehood the institution of commissioners had never appeared, and 13 December 1981 forced us to create it. We assigned priority in our activities to such problems as: the elimination of cliquishness, insensitivity, arrogance, everything that has an unfavorable influence on the establishment of interpersonal relations, problems of farm economy, technology in the broadest sense, the housing economy, trade, health and social welfare.

In many cases we had to come out in defense of people who are honest, people of principle, who frequently, in 1981, were slandered and wronged. At the same time, we had to take steps to have people who were corrupt and incompetent removed from their positions. Often in different circles attempts were made to cast doubt on our ability, our comments and aid. But as time went on the distrust faded away. The people gained greater confidence in us and in the high qualifications of our officers. The selection of cadre for the operational groups was very careful.

Our presence in the workplaces, cities, gminas, State Farms, the Agricultural Circle Cooperatives and the Agricultural Producer Cooperatives, supplied a great amount of valuable material, but, for the most part, not much that was pleasing. Waste and uneconomical management, and the tolerant attitude of the management staff to these occurrences, were particularly upsetting. Our last inspection at the end of November and beginning of December of last year furnished a great deal of unpleasant material. For example, in the Targowo Agricultural Producer Cooperative (Dzwierzuty gmina), 80 tons of hay in windrows rotted; in the Bisztynek Agricultural Producer Cooperative 10 tons of sheetmetal stored there were completely destroyed, and in the same Cooperative, 18 tons of cabbage and equipment from a former dairy valued at 4.5 million zlotys, were destroyed. I can cite dozens of similar examples. No one will be punished for this waste, because some people in positions of responsibility believe that since no seizure of public property occurred, it is as if all is in order. And hundreds of arguments to excuse the waste can be found.

Harm is very often occurring right in front of the party members, and in more than once case, this harm is being caused by the party members. There can be no toleration here, and all of those causing and tolerating harm must be punished, no matter who they are.

To control, and at the same time to eliminate the evil in the Olszyn province, we have as many as 16 professional control institutions, employing several hundred people. And yet it took the Armed Forces Inspectorate to expose all of the shortcomings in the Olszyn province management. I wish to call on secretary Mokrzyszczak to take these problems in hand, because past action, "piece-meal", everyone for himself, gives us nothing.

An important matter which was and is the object of our interest is the establishment of interpersonal relations. In the past they have been seriously disturbed and deformed on the office-citizen line. We have information on these matters from people who came to us and are coming to us with their matters, complaints, etc. Over 300 people came to the Armed Forces Inspectorate with matters which frequently could have been taken care of by the local authorities.

Implementation of the time table of post-inspection recommendations by the Armed Forces Inspectorate is proceeding efficiently. With one reservation, which I believe, should be cause for alarm:

In the timetable in part 1, titled "The Upbringing of Society", in none of the plants inspected, had plans for ideological-upbringing work with the workforces been prepared. In conversations with the managers of these plants, the impression is received that ideological-upbringing work with the workforces is not one of their jobs, even though they are not able to say whose job it is. Such an attitude is incomprehensible to us.

Finally, Col Swiecicki expressed indignation at Ryszard Gwizdala: "I am surprised that such words were spoken from this rostrum. Under present circumstances the slightest waste cannot be tolerated. We need every kilogram of food."

Kazimierz Dudek, commandant of the Provincial Citizens' Militia:

The provincial party organization was successful. The malevolent intentions did not have a negative effect either on the composition of the organization or on its program. The Ninth Congress' resolutions were stubbornly implemented. And it was, and is, hard. The MO and the Security Service, in addition to the party and the organs of state administration, are the main targets of attacks by the enemy. They wanted to make us powerless and rout us, to deprive us of authority and public support. Crime kept growing. Under these circumstances, declaration of martial law was the only way out. The MO and SB, in addition to the military, carried the main load and performed their tasks well. Our achievement is that we did not allow mass strikes to occur immediately after martial law was announced; that we prevented large public gatherings; that we helped to restore order in Warsaw and the Tri-City area [the Baltic Coast]; that we eliminated the regional extremes of "Solidarity" and cut off their influence on society; that we reduced crime; that we ensured public law and order and gave the citizens a sense of personal safety.

We attribute this success to the cooperation of the patriotic civilian and state forces. Nevertheless, the state of order and safety is not satisfactory. The criminals have adapted themselves to the severe regulations and are taking advantage of the easing of martial law. The number of robberies, thefts, attacks on MO officials, has increased. Parasitism and alcoholism are growing. We are pleased to note that the detection of crimes has increased, that more proceedings are being instituted, that there are fewer road accidents, that property valued at over 31 million zlotys has been recovered, and that the struggle with waste and speculation has intensified.

During the period of suspension of martial law, more watchfulness is necessary, for the dangers have not disappeared. The internal enemy, supported by the diversionary centers from abroad, will try to take advantage of legal structures for his goals in this country. The church hierarchy, which has considerable ability to exert an influence on society, is also propitious to these centers.

The main tasks of the MO and SB, and also the entire justice apparatus, are to continue the struggle with the political opponents, to prevent and fight crime, to ensure law and order and social calm, and to raise the ideological-upbringing level of the MO officials and improve the structure of the MO. It is also essential that the Workers' Detachments of the Citizens' Militia organizations in the workplaces be expanded, which will broaden the front of the struggle with the negative aspects of our socioeconomic life.

Wladyslaw Benc, first secretary of the Factory Committee (KZ) in IZNS [expansion unknown]:

During the past period the factory has not experienced any large disruptions and no political excesses have occurred. Party aktiv groups were formed, and they had an importance influence on maintaining a work atmosphere and calm and order in the factory. The party organization not only knew the moods of the people, it prevailed over them. Continuity of production was ensured. When difficulties occurred and there was a fear that people would have to be laid off, workers were retrained for other occupational specialties. At the initiative of the party organization, along with the management of the enterprise, new contractors were sought, and the labor market and sales market were examined. Thanks to these actions, despite initial difficulties, the annual plan was executed. Comrade Benc in his speech called particular attention to the cooperation of the KZ, POP and OOP with the factory management. Cooperation is exemplary. The resolution of the reports meeting was thoroughly studied for implementation in the form of a timetable which binds both the party organization as well as the factory management. An important problem which the KZ concerns itself with on an ongoing basis is the settlement of employees' complaints and suggestions. Even if matters and complaints are ostensibly minor, they can, if ignored, ruin the atmosphere. The party, in assuming responsibility for settling them, gains the confidence and respect of the workforce. This climate of confidence is very important, for it has an effect on conditions in the factory, and, for example, promotes support for the trade unions whose leaders will be elected at IZNS in the next few days.

Raymund Smiech, delegate from Dobre Miasto:

Raised the problem of the forestry economy. He described the specific features of work in the forest, talked about the environment and its difficulties, citing examples from his forestry inspectorate in Wichrow. The situation is bad, really critical. The November 1980 windstorm caused huge losses in the forest and the most important problem was that of fallen trees and the utilization of this raw material. Thanks to the efforts of the people it was possible to reduce the losses in a greater degree than could have been anticipated under these circumstances. Meanwhile, the recent January hurricanes caused new destruction. The situation forces us today to seek specific, indispensable solutions, for the problem now is not just the recovery of the fallen timber, but the matter of saving the forest, because failure to remove the windfall threatens that the noxious insects will move from the fallen timber to the standing timber, and that as a consequence, the trees will wither. Therefore Comrade Smiech demands that the people who work under these conditions be appropriately equipped and outfitted. The delegate from Wichrow devoted the second part of his speech to party work in the state forests' enterprises. Structurally, the forest inspectorates belong to and are under the District Administration of State Forests. However, party organizations function only up to the forest inspectorate level, being unable to influence a uniform economic policy in the entire enterprise, which is the District Administration of State Forests. Comrade Smiech proposed that party factory committees be formed in the District Administration of State Forests, which will represent all POP. The delegates second proposal: that in view of the importance of the forest economy in our province, matters relating to this field be comprehensively examined at one of the next meetings of the Provincial Committee.

Aleksander Dymarski, delegate from Zalewo:

Matters of upbringing should be the center of interest of everyone, not just the school. There cannot be such disparities between school and family as have existed thus far. Lack of a uniform upbringing front means that youth can be easily manipulated, and the political opponent is taking advantage of this. In order for this uniform system to arise, teachers-upbringers must be educated, and not just specialists in mathematics or Polish. Also, the wage system should be reformed, and the various allowances which have multiplied in schooling should be eliminated. With a 5-day workweek, there is not enough time for extracurricular activity. Nor does the functioning of scouting make it easier--intergmina troops are formed, which puts the staff farther away from the youth. In order to obtain staffs for schools, housing must be built. In Zalewo we need at least 12 dwellings. Work in the secondary schools is becoming more and more superficial because parent-teacher meetings are being held during the parents' working hours. Youth is becoming less involved in community work because the local authorities do not work with youth organizations, and factories are not interested in the implementation of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum resolution.

Krystyna Labacka, delegate from Szczytno, member of the PZPR KW executive board:

Informed the attendees of the work of the Women's Commission operating in the Provincial Committee. The Commission has concerned itself with the functioning of health and social care of the mother and child in the village and working and health and safety conditions in factories in which mostly women are employed. It is an unsettling fact that only 40 percent of the 6-year-olds and 27 percent of the younger children attend preschools. Recently fewer and fewer village children are being sent to preschools. Vacancies in them keep increasing. The reason for this is the high reimbursement and the decreasing number of women employed outside of their household, and also the low level of the awareness of the need for schooling on the part of the parents. Interest in kindergartens and day schools has also dropped, as well as placement of children in boarding schools. More and more school children have problems in getting to school. It is also being observed that parents are taking crippled children out of the care institutions in order to receive high benefits. This is damaging to the children, particularly to the older ones who are thus being deprived of an opportunity to learn a skill. Labacka made many practical suggestions and also demanded that constant, organized health care over children be ensured, that the parents' lack of awareness of the importance of an education be given serious consideration, and that the fees for summer camps be standardized.

In many factories working conditions for women require immediate improvement, not necessarily by way of costly investments. Sheltered work sections must be formed, and the disproportions in the wages for newly employed men and women in the same positions must be equalized. Women-party members working in various social organizations, jointly struggle for improvement in workplaces, and the party organizations and echelons should help them in this.

Kazimierz Dudak, delegate from Sepopol, member of the PZPR Central Committee:

Asked himself whether his community (Bartoszyce) is properly accomplishing its task in agriculture. He replied that it has, although not everything has been done;

production of slaughter livestock and grain has increased, production of milk has dropped. The villages constantly need machines and spare parts, credits for housing construction, incentives to develop livestock production, and finally, the basic commercial items needed for daily living and household use. The speaker also reported on the PZPR KW Farm Commission's range of work. The Commission made a current examination and evaluation of the situation in agriculture, postulating various solutions. He also said that POP has revived its activity in the villages, although the gmina aktiv is not giving it enough help. Nevertheless, the POP in the Sepopol Rural Gmina Cooperative has increased by eight members.

Comrade Dudek also expressed the fear that the government's program envisaging a drastic increase in the production of tractors is not realistic, since the OZOS is not producing tires (for lack of materials and people) and nothing is being done to expand this factory.

Stanislaw Golebiowski, delegate from Dobre Miasto, farmer from Nowa Wies Mala:

Concentrated attention on the unfavorable aspects of village life--inadequacies in services, health care, and culture. He spoke of the reserves that exist in the farm economy of the Olsztyn province and the conditions under which these reserves might be put to use. He felt that investment in land reclamation, installation of water to the villages, and housing construction, was correct. He expressed the belief that the PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee resolution will make it possible to satisfy the requirements of the farmers and the villages sooner, that an increase in farm production is dependent on the multiplied effort of all those involved, on the joining together of agriculture with the sectors of economy that service agriculture--the farm machinery industry, procurement organizations, warehousing, processing, transportation, etc. The delegate criticized the transfer of the Transportation Section out of Dobre Miasto, giving many examples why it should have been left in Dobre Miasto, including the interests of agriculture and the farmers. In conclusion he expressed demands pertaining to trade, the health service and the contacts of the villages with representatives of the party and administrative authorities.

Zbigniew Huss, delegate from Lidzbark Warminski, PZPR Central Committee member:

Spoke of his participation in the work of the Central Committee and its commissions, and in the city and gmina committees, and his participation at POP meetings to which he is invited. This is social work which takes a great deal of time. He expressed the need for greater consistency in the implementation of resolutions and other decisions of the party elements. For example, as of January, another newspaper, DZIENNIK POJEZIERZA, was to appear in Olsztyn. This decision was made by the PZPR KW secretariat, the Press, Radio and Television Section of the Central Committee, and the Main Board of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Publishing Cooperative. The newspaper is supposed to be printed in the Olsztyn Printing Plants, which, unfortunately, have not begun to do this even though they have available production facilities. The first secretary of the KW, Jan Laskowski, addressed himself to this statement at the end of the conference.

Bonawentura Kaiser, delegate from Olsztyn:

Discussed two problems of extreme importance for the future. First is the necessity to form a socialist model of life in Poland, based on normal and not crisis conditions.

--We need a collective imagination in order not to listen to the prompting of others, particularly those from the West, he said. This model must be understandable and appealing to youth, and our propaganda should spread it. We should also fight all kinds of myths concerning staffing policy. There is one now originating that competitions for managers are bringing expected results. An intelligent, well-educated, glib and cunning person will charm any commission. We need strict criteria for selection of staff for management positions, but such principles as will give priority to the young and capable and ensure them rapid promotions. This would help in breaking up the personnel arrangements made in the past. The speaker also submitted a proposal addressed to the Minister of Transportation to change the priorities for outlays and transfer them from the final product to the repair of durable assets. The result of the present policy is a tremendous number of devastated railroad cars.

Ryszard Psikus, delegate from Ketrzyn, manager of a sugar factory:

Commented on party work, pointed to the weakness of the smaller POP in particular. He then discussed the tasks ensuing from the Central Committee and Supreme Committee Eleventh Plenum resolution, emphasizing that it assigns tasks to everyone--those who produce, or the farmers, and those who produce for the farmers. This pertains to many factories, he said, including the Ketrzyn sugar factory. We must remember the raw-materials base for these factories. But this does not always happen; for example, the State Farms do not always fulfill their function as supplier of the raw materials. It may come down to the Ketrzyn sugar factory having to look for beets in the Gorzow or Zielona Gora provinces. That is why, in the opinion of the delegate, we should continue to improve the system for contracting for raw materials, so as to ensure deliveries. It is also essential that corrections be made in the ratio of prices between articles for farm production and procurement products, and also the ratio of prices between farm products themselves. But these prices should be applied when the farmer is beginning his cultivation, and not after the harvest. The struggle for larger crops does not mean that more land is needed, but that there should be higher productivity. Here the practical function of science begins, such as assistance from the Technical Agricultural Academy, the Provincial Center for Technical Progress, and the specialized farm services.

Stanislaw Grablewski, delegate from Janowiec gmina, farmer from Bukowiec:

Stressed that the party has a duty to help the farm economy to become stabilized. There is constant talk about the problems of the villages and agriculture, about the need to meet the needs of the rural population, but so far nothing has been done. The speaker asked: where does one buy a coal-fired steamer, a tine for a harrow, tires, or a battery. Why can't enough batteries be produced in Poland to fill everyone's needs? For years, the village has unsuccessfully tried to get farm machinery and spare parts that are standardized. The Olszyn province will be held accountable for size of farm production, not industrial production. That is why in addition to fertilizers, good quality seed, and proper agri-engineering,

land reclamation is indispensable, for a good cow will not be able to stay alive on a badly flooded and soured meadow. It is said that there is a lot of money in the village. Maybe there really is a little. But it can only be collected through larger deliveries of means of production, for it will serve to increase the amount of food. The speaker cited the words of Staszic, that "whatever you do for agriculture, you do for the good of the nation".

Mieczyslaw Kubicki, chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission:

The most dedicated aktiv has become stronger and we have gained many new, genuine party activists. This is gratifying and makes us optimistic. It must be said that in many cases our studies and conversations helped to change the attitudes of many comrades, both in the POP as well as in the plant managements. It allowed many comrades to understand their role and task in establishing the authority of the party organization in their community.

The party control commission will with full resoluteness combat everything that interferes with unity, which disrupts the party from the inside. We will be consistent and severe towards all fractional groups. For all party members, the basis for action should be the statute and program of the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

We notice many dangers threatening the party. We are trying to eliminate them. How often in many circles a party vocabulary is used, or "red gloves", to settle personal matters, often sordid and primitive. The Provincial Party Control Commission takes the position that the decided majority of party decisions should be made in the basic party cell. This is warranted by the fact that it is there that the accused is best known, the circumstances under which an offense was committed are known, and all of the facts which have an influence on making a correct, objective decision, are known.

Yet practice shows something entirely different. Many party organizations regard the incorrect stances of their members with too much tolerance; they do not oppose, at the right time, the occurrence of negative aspects, and the result is that when a judgment has to be made, the only decision remaining is that of expulsion from the party.

There is still a lot of indifference in the primary party organizations on matters of waste, uneconomical management, and even corruption. And so much apathy in the face of occurrences which wrong society. If we want things to be better, for our life to be more honest, we must all combat these occurrences. Our comrades themselves admit, that not all is good.

We must change our attitude towards criticism, particularly on the part of the mass media. The factory managements too frequently give short shrift to the press and radio-television criticism, or the evaluations of the party echelons. Their responses do not always deal with all of the problems that are raised, and sometimes the factory managements, instead of honestly examining the critical comments regarding individuals who report to them and taking the appropriate action, engage in an unnecessary argument or place the blame on others. I am not saying here that in every case the authors of the critical comments are correct. Maybe they are not. But I think that an honest, objective approach to the matter by both sides

would be helpful to everyone, to all of society. It would be well if all such cases were discussed at party meetings at which the journalist involved is present.

The party control commissions, together with the party organizations and echelons, must continue to consistently uphold the statutory standards pertaining to both ideological-political, as well as ethical-moral attitudes. We intend to implement these tasks by:

- consistent implementation of our own resolutions and those of the Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission, and the Provincial Commission;

- an unremitting struggle for the purity of party ranks;

- implementation of the authority of the Party Control Commission in relation to the making the "main assumptions of PZPR staffing policy" effective in the immediate future;

- opposition to instances of suppression of criticism and an incorrect attitude towards complaints and letters, as well as correct initiatives and proposals submitted by working people at all levels of administrative and political activity;

- improvement in the adjudging and preventive-education activities and consolidation of the POP role in this area;

- closer cooperation in the adjudgment and preventive areas with the audit commissions, problem commissions of the echelons, and party courts of the political parties.

Czeslaw Lendzionowski, delegate from Ilawa gmina:

We are richer in experience in our party and political activity, and despite the fact that there are fewer of us, we are more unified. We must be everywhere we should be, and deal with all problems, because the small problems grow into big ones and poison the atmosphere. There are many complaints and matters that must be settled, comrade Lendzionowski said, which result from an inadequate sense of responsibility, from the failure of the management staff to perform its duties. And after all, most of this staff are party members. The POP should call them to account, and take the necessary action in regard to them for their incompetence and poor work. That is why frequent verification is necessary, and evaluation of the management staff. The young people, of whom there are many that are worthy and educated, should be given a chance. The delegate then brought up the problem of education and its complaints, as to both materials and staff. Young people do not always want to work in the countryside, and not just in schooling, because we see the same thing, for example, in the health service. That is why in choosing people for higher schooling we should increase the percentage of youth from the workers' and rural communities, and give special preferences for the village youth, who will be more willing to return to the village when they have graduated. Comrade Lendzionowski submitted this proposal as a formal motion for the conference to decide.

Tadeusz Modrzejewski, delegate from Kolno gmina, assistant manager of the Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress (WOPR) in Besia:

Discussed many of the adversities that agriculture encounters. First of these is the lack of stability in farming, which is acutely felt by everyone. He said that the resolution of the joint PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee plenum, in which both parties declare themselves for a lasting and stable policy in agriculture, is the foundation on which the development of this field of economy can be built. For example, the farmer should not learn about the prices of farm products at the time of harvest, but earlier, when he is planning what he will plant. The same with livestock. It was a mistake to equalize the price of wheat and oats -- this leads to extensional farming, which is convenient for the weaker farmers. The conversion of industry to production for agriculture is taking too long. Under conditions of meat shortages, meat production should begin with animals with a large multiplication factor, such as hogs or poultry.

The speaker devoted a large part of his speech to explaining the myths that arose around the farm service. He defended it against the unfair, damaging criticism, which for the most part stems from impatience and misunderstanding. Certainly the poor price relationships, the insufficient availability of means of production, or the failure to fulfill contract and procurement plans, cannot be solved by farm-service consultation alone, said the speaker.

Tadeusz Maria Galewski, vice chairman of the Democratic Party (SD) Provincial Committee:

On behalf of the Democratic Party, wished the conference attendees productive and constructive deliberations. Speaking about the partnership collaboration between his party and the PZPR, he recalled the difficult past period in which the collaboration between the party and the SD and ZSL gained strength. Party affairs are not just your internal affairs, he said. They concern every Pole to whom the successful future of our homeland is important, who understands that Poland is and will remain socialist. In continuing, Galewski brought up some important, specific problems concerning the collaboration and consultation of all parties, particularly locally; an examination of the management staff in all fields of social and economic life and the role and tasks of the SD in evaluating people belonging to the Democratic Party; the ideological function, its dissemination and its role in shaping the attitudes and also the weaknesses in this field. The party has shown concern for a radical improvement in this area by instituting new forms and means of information, the speaker said, indicating also that there was insufficient press information on the subject of PRON. Stressing the importance of science and education, he pointed to some causes and effects of poor work in this field. He concluded his speech with the thought that party activities embody deep, humanist substance, that all of the resources and strength is directed at society and for society, at the individual, and the Democratic Party will always be a partner and ally in the achievement of this goal and these tasks.

Zbigniew Puchajda, delegate from Olsztyn and secretary of the PZPR College Committee in the Technical Agricultural Academy:

Said that the reports of the KW, WKKP and WKR do not reflect the atmosphere of the political struggle which occurred during the current term, and did not show the

commitment of those party members who often risked their professional and social position, who undertook the struggle for the party's authority and the honor of party activity. This pertains particularly to the small party organizations where the front of the political struggle had a special place. In saying this, comrade Puchajda said, I am not referring to the organization I represent, for that is a large, consolidated organization. Speaking of the role of youth in shaping the future material and moral welfare of the people, he declared that he represents a party organization for whom the upbringing and education of the young generation is a supreme matter. We assert, comrade Puchajda said, that the young generation is not active and is indifferent to matters concerning the country, and the current situation is not conducive to enthusiasm. But despite outward appearances, for example, in the Agricultural Academy, over 2,000 students are actively involved in social activities, which is almost half of the students. Reporting on the forms of the students' social activities, the speaker brought up the matter of PRON, whose goals and program assumptions, he said, are now receiving, and should in the future receive, friendly acceptance in all socio-occupational groups of the academic community. This is due to the fact that in the past and also to a great degree now, there is an atmosphere in the Agricultural Academy of ideological and moral consolidation of the working groups, mutual tolerance and respect for pluralism of attitudes in interpersonal relationships, and at the same time a recognition of the supremacy of state reasons and national values. As delegate from a large party organization, comrade Puchajda gave high marks to the working style of the KW, its executive board and secretariat. Emphasizing the concrete achievements of the party authorities, the delegate from the academic party organization praised them and wished them endurance and results in future activities.

Lt Col Jędrzej Chępiński, first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Mragowo:

Made some extremely interesting comments on the application of economic reform. The audience with applause permitted him to deviate from the rules of the meeting by allowing him to speak longer. In his opinion, the factories too frequently are interpreting the principles of reform any way they like, which is the defect of this reform. How does it happen that an enterprise which last year was threatened with bankruptcy, suddenly begins to function excellently? Did the word reform itself cause such a rapid growth in the workforce's awareness, its honesty, diligence and productivity? Is it possible that the ordinary waste and confusion practiced thus far was not included in the price of the products. A working individual cannot very well defend himself against such a drain on his pocketbook. It is essential, therefore, that the economic services of these factories show the people all of their economic subtleties. They must be verified by the POP, the self-governments and the trade unions. The citizen should know who is fixing prices. Wages should be more stable, reform should be reformable, but not from month to month. Because a factory that operates rhythmically, producing according to plan--loses. Thus every factory should be evaluated individually and honestly, so that its workforce is not cheated. This pertains especially to small plants that do not have the so-called penetration force and access to rapid economic information (by the way, there is also the "state secret"), who, in addition, share in the investments of the central plan and as a result, are heavily in debt. The new plants should be given reductions in payments into the State Vocational Activization Fund (PFAZ). I believe that the government is going too far in establishing the limits of an expense account on a business trip, or the plant's official entertainment expenses,

comrade Chaplewski said. People are irritated when they hear about the high incomes of the small industrialists. We have a former newstand owner in Mragowo who is now demonstrating how much he is worth. Taxes should be assessed more fairly. We can help people in housing construction by using the construction teams in the plants and making the building lots larger than heretofore.

Leonard Kolakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee in OZOS (Tire Plant in Olsztyn):

Discussed some of the plant's critical production problems and then, speaking of party work in OZOS, talked about the party organization's activities under the present new conditions. The trade unions and workers' self-governments help to create this new situation, and are responsible for the fact that the party organization faces new problems and must in an innovative way fulfill its tasks. The areas of interest of the party, trade unions, and self-governments, often overlap, thus a style and method of party work must be developed through which the party can perform its inspirational function and at the same time support all worthwhile social initiatives. This means that the party has to show judgment and aggressiveness, and develop a platform of cooperation with trade unions, the self-government, and the administration. This is a new task in party practice and must be reflected in party training.

Waclaw Grupa, delegate from Szczytno:

Said that the past period has not been wasted, that the execution of the legal framework of socialist renewal was begun during that time. Making the people aware of the contents of political laws--that, too, is the task of the party. We must teach society to understand legal acts and make use of them in settling their problems. This also helps in rebuilding party ties with the masses. The requisite of successful party functioning is its ideological and organizational unity, the everyday activeness of the comrades, and the activity of party organizations in conformance with regulations. Our statute binds us to work with people who are not party members. During 1980-1981, many of us lacked courage and militancy. Thousands of party members trusted the leadership of "Solidarity", and stayed in this organization even at a time when an overt coup d'etat was being organized. Such a stance can be variously explained and excused, but politically it cannot remain unpunished. The speaker appealed to all party members to conduct themselves in an exemplary way at all times, and to be concerned about the party organization's authority. He also stressed the urgency to support the PRON elements. He postulated that the signatories to an understanding meet, prior to the congress, with the local aktiv of this movement.

Reports Submitted for the Minutes

The following comrades submitted reports for the minutes: Waclaw Dobrzanski, delegate from Biskupiec, KW executive board member; Lech Janka, delegate from Olsztyn; Bernard Dymowski, delegate from Ilawa; Eugeniusz Kozka, delegate from Zalewo; Stanislaw Wiatrowski, delegate from Nidzica, first secretary of the City-Gmina Committee; Mikolaj Rabczuk, delegate from Gorowo Ilaweckie, City-Gmina Committee secretary; Boleslaw Jakubcewicz, delegate from Ketrzyn, City Committee secretary; Edmund Michalski, delegate from Ostroda, member of the KW executive board; Tadeusz Bralski, delegate from Szczytno, Gmina Committee first secretary; Stefan Strumillo, delegate from Olsztyn, City Committee first secretary; and Grzegorz Grono, manager, "Warfam" [Farm Machine Factory].

Secretary Jan Malinowski's Comments

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 26 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Jan Malinowski, PZPR KW secretary in Olsztyn, chairman of the KW Economic Commission, by Karol Krus; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Karol Krus, GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA: Problems relating to the economy always occupied an important place in the party's policies. Let us go back, therefore, to how they were treated at the Eighteenth PZPR Provincial Reports-Electoral Conference.

[Answer] Jan Malinowski: I do not know of a political party which is not interested in the economy and the social effects of its functioning. At the Eighteenth Conference the delegates rightfully demanded that an examination be made of the socio-economic decisions, actions and processes, which led to the crisis. Such an examination was made and announced in the form of reports, both on the state of the economy nationally as well as in the Olsztyn province. We should remember here, however, that during the first six months of 1981 the assessments of the growing economic crisis were too optimistic. At that time the full effects of the decline in coal mining were not felt yet, because the remaining stocks were being used. This was the beginning of the decline in outlays and labor productivity in industry, construction, transportation, trade, etc. During the second half of 1981, the crisis gained momentum. It is hard to say now what the dramatic finale of this process would have been had martial law not been declared.

[Question] What then did the party deem to be most important among the socioeconomic problems of the province in 1982?

[Answer] In general, it was the implementation of the resolution of the Eighteenth Reports-Electoral Conference and the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. The basic task for the first six months came down to the implementation of a system of measures which would slow down the growth of the economic crisis, and particularly under conditions which were additionally complicated by the economic sanctions of certain Western states applied against the Polish people. In our province we felt these sanctions in the form of a reduction in the production of food, fodder and also in certain other fields. For the second six months, the Provincial Committee took on a more ambitious tasks. It was important to begin the process of surmounting the crisis.

[Question] What did we achieve?

[Answer] Thanks to the efforts of the workforces in the second half of 1982 we produced more industrial products than in the same period in 1981. And this is a new situation qualitatively. We began to overcome the crisis, as is recently termed, and began to rise up from the "bottom".

[Question] The symptoms of positive economic signs do not pertain exclusively to industry.

[Answer] The people in our province, thanks to the information published in GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA, and for which I would like to express my sincere thanks at this time, is informed on the changes that are taking place. I will remind you that important progress was made in trade. In the first six months of 1982, from the standpoint of an increase in sales, we were at the end of the national list. In the second six months, we moved up by several places, which attests to the great effort of those involved in trade and to their greater cooperation with producers. Because Merchant's Day falls on 29 January, I would like to take this occasion to give my sincerest thanks and wishes for every success to all of those who work in trade, who assist in overcoming the socioeconomic crisis.

[Question] And still, despite the merchant's holiday, we should talk about the tremendous shortages in supplies.

[Answer] There are many shortages. We estimate that the greatest are in textiles and footwear. They pertain also to many other articles of industrial origin supplied mainly from outside Olszyn province. We have applied to the central authorities to change the existing situation even at the expense of certain deviations from ultimate solutions of economic reform. Hence for this year government orders call for production of a number of products, and the distribution of goods of basic importance to purchasers will be made in proportion to the number of residents in the particular provinces. This should bring a considerable improvement in supplies in our region in the next few weeks, including shoes for adults.

[Question] Housing construction and the municipal economy. There is probably little cause for optimism here.

[Answer] I propose a separate meeting on this matter because of the preparations now being made for the PZPR KW plenum dealing with housing and allied construction. It is true that during all of 1982 in our province there were more than 320 fewer dwellings built than in 1981, but this was due to the disastrous situation in the first six months of last year. During this period, hardly two-thirds of the number of dwellings built in the first half of 1981, were released for occupancy. The second six months ended with better results than in the same period of the previous year.

[Question] Although it is true that prices are more frequently being determined by the self-financing enterprises, and Minister Krasinski is shedding more light on this problem, nevertheless a KW secretary who is responsible for economic matters cannot be exempted from questions relating to this.

[Answer] We unceasingly call attention to this matter within the party and in our collaborations with the involved institutions, and above all the producers. At our initiative the specialized institutions--District Price Office, State Trade Inspectorate, and a number of others, headed by the Supreme Chamber of Control, are stimulating activity on this front. The plant commissions appointed to make an analysis of production costs, prices and quality, have a great deal to do here. It should be stressed that aside from known price increases, producers are more commonly suggesting their goods and services at lower prices.

[Question] The people, for understandable reasons, do not like price increases.

[Answer] The party is also in favor of fulfilling, insofar as possible, the people's expectations. That is why it was decided at the PZPR Central Committee's Tenth Plenum, that this years' price increases be as low as possible. We estimate that this increase will be six to seven times lower than last year. Ultimately, a reduction in outlays, and more efficient management, will determine the level and structure of prices. That is why it is important to adapt wages to labor productivity.

[Question] How interested are the self-governments and trade unions in economic problems?

[Answer] From what we now know the level of interest is increasing, but the legal solutions are still not being fully utilized. In any case, most of the self-governments resumed their activity in the fourth quarter of last year, and the trade unions have been working for several weeks. At present, the managements of the enterprises, the POP, workers' councils, and factory union organizations--each element in accordance with its own statutory scope of activity--are giving consideration in their work to the modified, for this year, problems of economic reform.

[Question] So how is it, in general, with our economy: is it better or worse?

[Answer] It is better and worse. Because most enterprises are coming out of the crisis, it is better. It is worse from the standpoint of work discipline and production quality of a number of products. It is important that our meetings in the immediate future determine the courses of action for our party organization which will strengthen the favorable aspects and definitely eliminate from our life everything that makes it impossible for us to emerge from the crisis more rapidly.

[Question] In our conversation thus far we have not mentioned the work of the Economic Commission.

[Answer] The facts show that this was one of the most active problems commissions of the Provincial Committee. During just eight months of last year we held six plenary meetings, and November meetings were held in six groups, with the broad participation of invited guests. Jointly, we prepared many evaluations, conducted numerous consultations on drafts of legal settlements which were of basic significance in strengthening the socioeconomic policy of our party. Currently we are conducting consultations on the draft of a law on plant housing construction. Before this month is up we will send our collected opinions to the PZPR Central Committee's Economics Department.

[Question] May we, in conclusion, request details of this year's program of activity of the Provincial Party Echelon as concerns socioeconomic problems?

[Answer] Yes, but after the reports conference, because we will implement its decisions. I would like to see the following accomplished in 1983: that the present level of consumption be at least maintained; that the planned investments be completed on time without additional outlays; and that the existing production potential increase considerably. I personally believe that we are all interested in getting ourselves out of this crisis, of which we have had enough and for too long.